

REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
ÇANAKKALE ONSEKİZ MART UNIVERSITY
BIGA FACULTY OF ECONOMICS AND ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM
Bosnia Herzegovina from Past to Present
28 - 30 April 2005

DUR YOLCU
BİLMEDEKİ GELİP BASTIK
BU TOPRAK
BİR ZEVKİN PATİGİ YER

PROCEEDINGS

Çanakkale - 2005

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
FROM PAST TO PRESENT / ÇANAKKALE 2005

Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi Biga İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi
Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University Biga Faculty of Economics and
Administrative Sciences

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA FROM PAST
TO PRESENT

28-30 April 2005

Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi
Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University

PROCEEDINGS

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA FROM PAST TO PRESENT
PROCEEDINGS



This symposium was realised with contributions from TÜBİTAK (Türkiye Bilimsel ve Teknik Araştırmalar Kurumu – Scientific and Technical Research Council of Turkey) and TÜBA (Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi – Turkish Academy of Sciences).

The municipalities of Çanakkale and Biga provided logistical support for this symposium.

Typesetting
Res. Assist. Gürol BABA

Printed by
Pozitif Printing House - Ankara
Phone: +90 312 395 21 17

ISBN
975-8100-47-5

Proceedings Requests:
Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University
Biga Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences
17200 Biga – Çanakkale / TURKEY
Phone: +90 286 316 5711
Fax: +90 286 316 5832

Statements of facts or opinions appearing in the Proceedings of the International Symposium "Bosnia and Herzegovina From Past to Present" are solely those of the authors and do not imply endorsement by the Organization Committee or the publisher

Organization Committee

Prof. Dr. Ali Akdemir, Dean of the
Biga Faculty of Economics and
Administrative Sciences, Çanakkale
Onsekiz Mart University

Mirgöl Eren Griffé, Turkey-Bosnia
and Herzegovina Friendship
Association

Asst. Prof. Dr. Yunus Yoldaş,
Chairman of the Organization
Committee, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart
University

Asst. Prof. Dr. Ölkü Varlık,
Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University

Asst. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Hasgüler,
Director of the Strategic Research
Center, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart
University

Asst. Prof. Dr. İbrahim Kaya,
Strategic Research Center, Çanakkale
Onsekiz Mart University

Asst. Prof. Dr. Oğuz Yıldırım,
Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University

Behçet Elbistanlıoğlu, Head of the
Office for Administrative and
Financial Affairs, Çanakkale Onsekiz
Mart University

Dr. Bestami Sadi Bilgiç, Çanakkale
Onsekiz Mart University

Dr. Mustafa Görün, Çanakkale
Onsekiz Mart University

Dr. Gökhan Sönmezler, Çanakkale
Onsekiz Mart University

Aytül Tekay, Secretary of the Biga
Faculty of Economics and
Administrative Sciences, Çanakkale
Onsekiz Mart University

Enisa Oğuz, Turkey-Bosnia and
Herzegovina Friendship Association

Memnuna Andiçen, Ankara

Bora Şaric, Ankara

Adem Kurtakiç, Ankara

Program Committee Secretariat

Erdal Aydın
Gürol Baba
İdil Elver
A. Orkun Göktepe
Serkan Korucuoğlu
Serap Kurtul
Alp Özel
Yener Pazarcık
Didem Yaman
Berna Burcu Yılmaz

Banu Ören

Social Activities Commission:

Murat Saric
Ahmet Sobutay
Arcan Yayıkoglu
Levent Özoran
Memnuna Andiçen
Meral Keskiner
Halil Bilecen

Prof. Dr. Ramazan Aydın
Rector of Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University

We at Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University are most pleased to host the international symposium entitled “Bosnia-Herzegovina - From Past to Present” at our university’s Terzioğlu Campus on 28-30 April 2005. This symposium has been organized in collaboration with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Friendship Association in Turkey and Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University’s Strategic Research Center.

The Balkan region is of crucial importance in terms of strategic security for both Turkey and the European Union, not only in the past but also today and in the future. It also possesses a special significance in terms of the three major religions having coexisted side-by-side there for 600 years. Many political scientists, international strategists, and researchers accept that instabilities in the Balkan Peninsula may negatively affect not only neighboring countries but also a much broader expanse of territory. In this respect, I believe that a contribution needs to be made in terms of consolidating democratic gains in the countries of the region and, through economic and cultural cooperation, to provide political, economic, and social stabilization.

Within this framework, we hope that this symposium may be a significant step towards contributing to these aims.

Bosnia-Herzegovina is also important for Turkey, arising from the deep-seated political, cultural, and social bonds between our two countries. Sustaining cooperation between Turkey and Bosnia-Herzegovina, a country carrying Ottoman cultural heritage, is as crucial in the future as it was in the past.

Within this framework, I believe that throughout our symposium various aspects will be discussed, new perceptions will be taken into consideration, and, as a result, new concepts and proposals will be developed which will contribute to emphasizing the realities and development of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I wish to give my thanks, first of all, to the Department of Balkan Affairs of our Foreign Ministry, to the Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA), and also to the Scientific and Technical Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) for its support and acceptance of this symposium project.

I also need to express my special thanks to all universities in Bosnia-Herzegovina for their cooperative efforts, in particular the Rector of the University of Sarajevo, Prof. Dr. Hasan Muratovic and the Rector of the Dzemal Bijedic University of Mostar, Prof. Dr. Elbisa Ustamujic. I would further like to thank all the universities, research institutes, and other public institutions in Turkey and Bosnia-Herzegovina which have contributed to our symposium.

In addition, I would like to give my thanks to the Symposium Organization Committee and members of the Turkey – Bosnia and Herzegovina Friendship Association Board of Directors.

Prof. Dr. Ali Akdemir

Dean of the Biga Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences

As Biga Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, we would like to be an academic institution which makes itself heard not only in Turkey, but also in the wider international environment. Therefore, we have organized this international symposium on Bosnia and Herzegovina along with Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina Friendship Association.

I would hereby like to thank our Rector Prof. Dr. Ramazan Aydın, who has provided for us the inspiration and courage to organize the symposium. I should also mention Yunus Yoldaş, the Chair of the Department of International Relations, Bestami Sadi Bilgic of the Department of International Relations, H. Mirgöl Eren Griffé and Enisa Oğuz of the Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina Friendship Association, Behçet Elbistanlıoğlu, the Head of the Office for Financial and Administrative Affairs, and all other research assistants and administrative staff, who have worked so hard to put together this international event.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Yunus Yoldaş

Chairman of the Organization Committee

Within the framework of our International Symposium “Bosnia-Herzegovina - From Past to Present”, we have tried to form a platform to discuss historical and recent developments of Bosnia-Herzegovina in theoretical and practical dimensions. Evaluation of these results about the issues discussed here on Bosnia-Herzegovina will contribute to the progress of this country.

The conference proceedings handbook comprises the papers presented during the sessions of our symposium. The ideas and thesis presented in different sessions of the symposium pertains to the author/participant and do not bind our University and the symposium committee.

Submission of valuable presentation papers to our symposium aims to handle different aspects of the issues about the Bosnia-Herzegovina put forwards the significance of the subject. Our conference proceedings book is also crucial for maintaining a reference for the future researches.

The subjects that are aimed to be discussed in our Symposium are listed in such priority:

Bosnia-Herzegovina in pre-Ottoman Period: What is the impact of the Bosnian language over the formation of cultural and national identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina? How was the Bosnian-Ottoman relationship before the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia and Herzegovina? What kind of role did the Bogomils play in the social and political life of Medieval Bosnia?

Bosnia-Herzegovina during Ottoman and Habsburg Reign: What was the impact of Ottoman administration over the social, political and economic life in Bosnia and Herzegovina? How did Ottoman tradition and archival sources affect modern Bosnian historiography? What was the role played by Bosnia and Herzegovina between the Ottomans and Habsburgs within the framework of the Eastern Question?

War in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s: How did Yugoslavia dissolve? What was the Turkish policy vis-a-vis war in Bosnia and Herzegovina? How did the international organizations fare during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Political, Economic, Social and Literary Life in Bosnia-Herzegovina: What is the political system and its features in Bosnia and Herzegovina after Dayton? What is the economic life like in Bosnia and Herzegovina? What are the features of Bosnian literary life?

I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Ramazan Aydın for letting us such an opportunity to organize this International symposium and also would like to thank Prof. Dr. Ali Akdemir, Dean of the Biga Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, and my colleagues who have collaborated in this organization committee from beginning till the end. I also would like to thank H.Mirgöl Eren Griffé, member of the organization committee of this symposium and the Secretary General of Turkey & Bosnia-Herzegovina Friendship Association, and also Enisa Oğuz, member of the organization committee of this symposium and the Chairman of Turkey & Bosnia-Herzegovina Friendship Association, for their considerable effort and their precious assistance during the organization of this International Symposium.

Enisa Oğuz (President)
H.Mirgöl Eren Griffe (Secretary-General)
(Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina Friendship Association)

The social and cultural relations between citizens of the Republic of Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina State are founded on a story of 450 years which makes that the people of these countries feel close to each other. As a result of the immigration moves from the Bosnia and Herzegovina for 15 generations, from the end of the Karlowitz Treaty of 1699 until the end of the last war in Bosnia, they became a real part of this nation from Edirne to Kars over the past 300 years. They have set up 80 associations and 10 foundations in various areas of Turkey, even in small villages. Eight of them are under the umbrella of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Cultural Associations Federation and ten under the Rumeli Turks Federation. The others act independently like us. All try to pass on their traditions and values to the next generations through social events that they sponsor from time to time. These NGO's have also supported Bosnia and Herzegovina both financially and emotionally in recent past. Let us mention that they are all greatly supported by the Government of the Turkish Republic. But all what the NGO's have made till now is not enough to give a true light about Bosnia and Herzegovina and to help its economic development.

As a world's second Jerusalem, the land of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been and is still a home for people of the three religions. Today Bosnia and Herzegovina is an independent state. For these reason, especially for those whose heritage lies in this place, we have a great responsibility. We have thought that the best way to present the reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the people of Turkey and all countries of the world, to the Bosniaks themselves, is through academic platforms. These platforms should be headed up by various academicians bringing their own appretions, focusing on the historical, social and cultural facts. For this purpose, we need institutions set up by academicians and experts. Today there are only two Bosnian Institutes in the world, one in Sarajevo and the other in London. The goal of our Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina Friendship Association is to set a third institute in Turkey as a result of your cooperations.

We are grateful to Rector Prof.Dr.Ramazan Aydın of Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University. It is the first time in the world that an international symposium of this kind is held in Turkey and he has greatly supported us in providing an academic umbrella for us. Çanakkale is so important for us because of all the Bosnian and Herzegovinan soldiers who fought and died martyrs during the Çanakkale war and in the battle of Galipoli for this land. We hope that they rest in peace and are thankful now.

We would like to thank Prof.Dr.Ali Akdemir, Dean of Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University,

Asst.Prof.Dr.Yunus Yoldaş, Head of the International Realitions Department of the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University for being Chairman of the Organization Committee and carrying the weight of the organisation with his team, Asst.Prof.Dr.Ülkü Varlık, Head of the Public Administration Department, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University Stratejic Researches Center, and Dr.Bestami Bilgiç and Behçet Elbistanlıoğlu, the Head of Administrative and Financial Office of Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University. We are also thankful to the Balkans Department of The Turkish Foreign Ministry, Turkish Sientific and Technical Research Council (TÜBİTAK) and Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA) for their assistance and support. We would also like to thank Mayors where many from Bosnia and Herzegovina live, for heading up organization of this international symposium.

We also thank each governmental official member of the parliament, representatives of the diplomatic missions, member of the press and NGO's for participating in the symposium. Our wish is that those who love Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as all people of progress and good will work hand in hand to ensure a symbol of peace and prosperity in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Balkans.

Contents

BOSNIAN LANGUAGE – HISTORICAL PARADIGM OF CONTINUITY (ANDDISCONTINUITY) OF CULTURAL AND NATIONAL IDENTITY OF BOSNIAKS <i>Elbisa Ustamujic</i>	15
A LOOK AT THE BOSNIAN-OTTOMAN RELATIONS UNTIL 1463 <i>Aladin Husić</i>	21
BOSNIA BOGOMIL'S IN THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE OF MEDIEVAL BOSNIA <i>Salih Jalimam</i>	32
PRIME MINISTRY GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF STATE ARCHIVES IMPORTANCE OF OTTOMAN ARCHIVES IN THE HISTORY OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA <i>Yusuf Sarinay</i>	37
THE INFLUENCE OF THE OTTOMAN RULE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA <i>Enes Pelidija</i>	45
OTTOMAN TRADITION IN MODERN BOSNIAN AND HERZEGOVINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY <i>Ramiza Smajić</i>	51
ARCHIVAL RECORDS OF THE OTTOMAN PERIOD IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ARCHIVES <i>Sejdalija Gušić</i>	57
BOSNIA BETWEEN THE OTTOMAN AND HABSBURG EMPIRES WITHIN THE EASTERN CRISIS <i>Mustafa Imamović</i>	67
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE'S POLICY IN BOSNIA and HERZEGOVINA (Between 1805-1815) <i>Mirgöl Eren Griffe</i>	78
OTTOMAN FOUNDATIONS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA; ALI GALIB PAŞA RIZVANBEGOVIÇ FOUNDATION <i>Mustafa Bilge</i>	91
THE INSTITUTE FOR ORIENTAL STUDIES IN SARAJEVO (1950-2005) A PUBLIC SCIENTIFIC-RESEARCH INSTITUTION <i>Muhammed Aruçi</i>	105
POPULATION MOVEMENTS TOWARDS ANATOLIA FROM BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA FOLLOWING THE KARLOWITZ TREATY AND IMMIGRATION OF PEOPLES FROM BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA TO TURKEY AND LOCATIONS OF SETTLEMENTS <i>Enisa Oğuz</i>	126
THE DISSOLUTION OF THE SFRY <i>Ziyad Sehic</i>	134
CONTRIBUTIONS OF MR.ONUR ÖYMEN TO THE SYMPOSIUM OF BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA <i>Onur Öymen</i>	159
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA – TURKEY 1992-1995 (Observations) <i>Hajrudin Somun</i>	161

GREEK OFFICIAL AND POPULAR ATTITUDE DURING WAR IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, c.1992-1995 <i>Tuba Ünlü-Bilgiç , Bestami Sadi Bilgiç</i>	172
TURKISH ARMED FORCES AND PEACEKEEPING IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: AN OVERVIEW UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW <i>İbrahim Kaya</i>	176
THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE WAR IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AND LESSON FOR FUTURE PREVENTION OF ARMED CONFLICTS <i>Hasan Muratović</i>	183
A STUDY FOR TURKEY'S BOSNIA&HERZEGOVINA POLICY IN THE POST COLD WAR PERIOD <i>Sibel TURAN, Sevil ERTUĞRUL</i>	189
IMPACT OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA CIVIL WAR ON THE UN <i>Mehmet Hasgüler, M. Bülent Uludağ</i>	211
M U H A D Z I R (Refugee) <i>Namık Alimajstorovic</i>	214
THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AFTER DAYTON AGREEMENT <i>Yunus Yoldaş, Ülkü Varlık</i>	219
MACROECONOMIC ASPECTS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA'S INTEGRATION INTO THE EU AND EMU <i>Dzenan Djonlagic</i>	231
FISCAL DECENTRALIZATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA <i>Sead Kreso</i>	241
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: AN ECONOMIC EVALUATION AND ITS RELATIONS WITH TURKEY <i>Aykan Candemir</i>	259
YAHYA KEMAL BEYATLI'S BALKAN IMPRESSIONS <i>Recep Duymaz</i>	285
BOSNIAN SABIT – THE POET OF IDIOMS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE 20 IDIOMS IN HIS VERSES <i>Süreyya Beyzadeoğlu</i>	294
A STUDY ABOUT GENRE, WAY OF LIFE AND LANGUAGE FEATURES WHICH ARE PECULIAR TO RUMELIA AND DEVELOPED IN BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA AND AROUND DURING OTOMAN ERA <i>Rıfat Gürgendereli</i>	305
OTTOMAN POETS LIVING IN BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA DURING OTTOMAN ERA <i>Müberra Gürgendereli</i>	316
ASSUMPTIONS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF SCIENCE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (1878. – 1958.) <i>Senija Milišić</i>	329

BOSNIAN LANGUAGE – HISTORICAL PARADIGM OF CONTINUITY (AND DISCONTINUITY) OF CULTURAL AND NATIONAL IDENTITY OF BOSNIAKS

Elbisa Ustamujic*

ABSTRACT

The Bosnian language, together with other Central-South-Slavic languages, sharing destiny of origin, time of migrations, regional political state autonomies, from the first written words and testimonies of Slavic spirit, since the Middle Ages – when the first political-administrative-legal state entities were created in Balkans – starts its own language revolution, never leaving the scope of wider and narrower common South-Slavic language turbulences – that enrich and influence the Balkans area – but still preserving its own qualities, based on specific religious qualities of its bearers and political identity of the state of Bosnia.

Such conditions, started in the Middle Ages, will be preserved also through the period Ottoman rule in the Balkans, when Bosnia played an important role for political-military borders – krajine, as well as for cultural-spiritual environment – especially for Islamized population who, even after being Islamized stayed loyal to their cultural and national past (with Islam this was successfully and additionally! stabilized, but as well made even more complex), in which process the very language identity played a crucial role and was a base for historical link with cultural and national identity. For all spreading of oriental languages and culture through this period in Bosnia, due to the influence of political, religious and spiritual environment – becoming certain and long-standing part of Bosnian tradition – written records in mother tongue left a profound imprint: from oral opus – the most beautiful and successful in the South-Slavic area – to specific symbiotic culture products – such as writing in Bosnian adjusted phonetically to the Arab language, alhamiadao tradition.

Disappearing of Ottoman rule from the Balkans and influence of European national trends marked cultural-national identity of Bosniaks and a specific status of the Bosnia state. For a while, during Austro-Hungarian rule over Bosnia, Bosnian language heritage was promoted and preserved, but later, from the early 20th century until its sixties, when Yugoslav unity was promoted and then politically implemented, status of the Bosnian language was finally abolished. However, awareness of mother, Bosnian, language, never disappeared, as well as cultural-national identity of Moslems who, through seventies, won their own name of Moslem. This happened at the same time with some important cultural events, and speaking openly about Moslem literary heritage and the specific Bosnian-Herzegovinian literary expression.

In nineties, with strengthening of democratic political orientations, finally, like underground water emerging out, a modern Bosniak nation was developed, together with

* Prof. Dr., Rector of the Dzemal Bijedic University of Mostar

the language – Bosnian, that is still developing as an independent standard, enriched with normative textbooks – orthography, grammar, and a new lexicon that is worked on currently.

It is clear that such a cultural strength couldn't be destroyed, even despite tragic events in the period between 1992 and 1995.

The Bosnian language, together with other Central-South-Slavic languages, sharing destiny of origin, time of migrations, regional political state autonomies, from the first written words and testimonies of Slavic spirit, since *the Middle Ages* – when the first political-administrative-legal state entities were created in Balkans – starts its own language revolution, never leaving the scope of wider and narrower common South-Slavic language turbulences – that enrich and influence the Balkans area – but still preserving its own qualities, based on specific religious qualities of its bearers and political identity of the state of Bosnia.

Material testimonies of development of the Bosnian language can be tracked from the first Slavic written records in late X and early XI century, parallel with other states in Central Slavic speaking area. These were church manuscripts, inscriptions in stone, letters from *krajinās* (the Bosnian border land) as well as Franciscan literature.

Codices, church inscriptions in old Slavic language of the Bosnian writing, were written in *glagoljica*, Bosnian church script, and the oldest ones date from XII century.

The most representative manuscript in *glagoljica* was Hrvoje's missal from the early XV century, the oldest and the most beautiful Cyrillic script among church scripts is Miroslav Evangel dated of XII century.

Specific Bosnian quality is usage of Slavic modified scripts, so we can differentiate half- half-rounded *glagoljica*, something between Eastern rounded and Western angular one.

Also, specific characters of Bosnian Cyrillic and *bosancica* (Bosnian Cyrillic) can be differentiated from Old-Slavic characters, as well as from Serbian and Bulgarian Cyrillic. Administrative-legal documents (plaques, contracts, testaments) were written in people's language and Cyrillic, and one of the oldest ones is *Kulinova povelja* /Declaration of Ban Kulin (1189).

Cyrillic written documents are specific Bosnian- Hum epigraphy – inscriptions in buildings, such as *Humacka ploca*/Plaque from Hum. (late 10 or early 11 century) as well as inscriptions in standing tombstones – *stecak* that represent original art of unique beauty which, by its literary and linguistic importance outdoes the space of origin and thus is of utmost importance for South-Slavic culture and literature and science.

The Bosnian Cyrillic – *bosancica* alphabet developed in two parallel forms: *ustav*, constitutional alphabet of official documents by Bosnian rulers and nobility and later Ottoman office workers, and cursive *bosancica* adapted to the needs of Bosnian script, so-called hand-written *bosancica*.

In XVII and XVIII century, it settled as two types: monastery (Franciscan) *bosancica* and *begovo pismo*/bey's alphabet, *begovica* that was used by Bosniak women also and thus known as "women's alphabet". This script *bosancica* was used in many pages of epistolary literature of Bosnian borderers, known as borderland letters in which the native high officials keep up correspondence for solving cross-border problems. They are very important in the written history of Bosniaks and with the content they confirm real events from Bosnian epic poetry that owns the same spiritual and ethical specific qualities.

Such conditions, started in the Middle Ages, will be preserved also through the period *Ottoman rule* in the Balkans, when Bosnia played an important role for political-military borders – *krajine*, as well as for cultural-spiritual environment – especially for Islamized population who, even after being Islamized stayed loyal to their cultural and national past (with Islam this was successfully and additionally! stabilized, but as well made even more complex), in which process the very language identity played a crucial role and was a base for historical link with cultural and national identity. In this period, due to the influence of political, religious and spiritual environment, oriental languages and culture spread.

In XVI and XVII century, Bosniaks, educated in Islamic world, wrote literary, religious, scientific and philosophical books. They use Arabic for writing religious and scientific works, Persian for literary works or sometimes Turkish, while the Turkish language was important in administrative-legal area. Although they write in non-native languages, many of them proudly emphasize their origins by adding ethnonyms such as Mostari, Besnevi, Bosnali, Saraji, Bošnjak, Pruščak etc. to their given names.

Parallel with this course that was to enrich Bosnian-Herzegovinian area in poetical and spiritual terms, there was a permanent and unavoidable part of authentic Bosnian tradition in mother tongue that left imprint in oral opus – the most beautiful and the most successful one in central South-Slavic area, in expressive quality of *sevdalinka* and Bosnian ballad. Another Bosnian specific quality is *alhamiada* literature, symbiotic cultural product in Bosnian written in *arebica* script which was phonetically adjusted Arabic script.

Concerning the fact that *bosancica* was gradually completely suppressed, the reformed *arebica* was used for writing in Bosnian that was introduced in religious schools in 1968 and was in use till 1913 when it was replaced with Cyrillic or Latin script.

Disappearing of Ottoman rule from the Balkans and influence of European national trends marked cultural-national identity of Bosniaks and a specific status

of the Bosnia state. BH joined the process of standardization and development of orthographic standard, together with Croatia and Serbia, accepting Vuk's *novostokavski*/new stokavian dialect of standardized language without noticeable resistance since it was very similar to the idiom of BiH and that was used in literary tradition of high artistic achievement: epigraphy, Franciscan literature, *alhami*ado tradition, epistolary borderers letters, while the special place was reserved for oral literature, that played the most important role in the process of language standardization in Central Slavic idiom by means of *novostokavski* folk idiom. That's why Bosnia easily accepted phonetic alphabet since it was also part of tradition, used for the first published papers and books of *Vilajet's printing house* in Sarajevo. (1866)

For a while, under Austro-Hungarian rule, during the years of reorientation and Europeanization of all parts of the society, the Bosnian language was promoted and formally recognized. In this regard, it was systematically standardized, which resulted in the textbook "*Gramatika bosanskog jezika*"/Bosnian Grammar (1890), as well as other activities on preserving Bosnian language heritage.

However, this process was disturbed by national-political situation, nationalization of Bosnian Catholics - Croats and orthodoxies - Serbs, and stronger cultural connections with Zagreb and Belgrade, especially in the early XX century until its 60-ties, when the idea of *Yugoslav unity* emerged and later on, after the II world war it was finally implemented. This represented the end of the formal existence of the Bosnian language.

Rule of Serbian/Croatian/Slovenian Kingdom completely wiped out formal existence of the Bosnian language.

Serbian/Croatian/Slovenian Kingdom marginalized social and political role of Bosnia and Herzegovina, so its language and its culture shared that destiny, and only after the year of 1945 Bosnia and Herzegovina got the status of a federal unit in the ex Yugoslavia, but national status of the Bosnian Moslems was not defined.

Status of Serbo/Croatian-Croato/Serbian language wasn't changed in the new state, but *Novosadski dogovor* (1954.) /Novi Sad's Agreement secured the two linguistic centers – Belgrade and Zagreb.

The awareness of the mother tongue never disappeared, as well as national and spiritual identity of Moslems, which would be proved in a real linguistic-cultural shock that happened in 1966 with emergence of the novel by Mesa Selimovic "*Dervis i smrt*" ("Dervish and the Death"), which was recognized as the first Moslem novel, collected poems by Mehmedalija Mak Dizdar, and other pieces of work that emerged as top works of ex-Yugoslav literature thanks to their complexity of layers and dimensions.

Full success of these and other books proved special quality and richness of literary and linguistic expression of the urban idiom that was fostered through centuries in Bosnian towns, that was recognized and praised by Vuk himself and

that produced *sevdalinka* and *balada*, pearls of oral literature of subtle lyric expression, inherited from epigraphy and mystical esoterism of our poetry in Oriental languages, as well as diplomatic-epistolary literature and folk epics. Specific quality of modern Bosniak's literature and its novel is a lyrical style, and its substantial density draws its many layers of meaning from intertextual relations with rich linguistic-literary heritage.

Appearance of the prestigious literary works raised additional issues, so M. Filipovic wrote a philosophical essay *Moslem spirit in literature - what is it?*, and Midhat Behic noted the problem of the position of Moslem writers wrote *Moslem writers on the crossroad*, while Alija Isakovic publishes anthology of old Moslem literature *Biserje*. All these processes overlapped with final formal confirmation of the status of the nation named *Moslems*. Since then, starts an open discussion on Moslems' literary heritage and specific Bosnian-Herzegovinian literary expression. Since common name for the language of Serbs, Croats, Moslems and Montenegrins was discussed – Serbian/Croatian-Croatian/Serbian was a proposal questioned by Croats; linguists in Bosnia-Herzegovina are close to the solution of four variants instead of only the two of the one language of South-Slav idiom that were developing in different social/cultural environments. Linguistic issues in Bosnia-Herzegovina have been dealt with for years, in conciliatory manner based on principles of the freedom of expression and tolerance of variant differences.

Discussion about the name of the Bosnian language hasn't been settled yet. This fact has been difficult to accept for both Serbian and Croat linguistic public that is still burdened with political or rather nationalistic control. The name of *the Bosnian language* in historical documents can be continuously tracked from the Middle Ages, as well as the national name of *Bosniak* existed in ancient times. These names stand for a real nation with its language, history, cultural heritage and spiritual characteristics that prove its identity.

In nineties, with strengthening of democratic political orientations, finally, like underground water emerging out, a modern Bosniak nation was developed, together with the language – Bosnian, that is still developing as an independent standard, enriched with normative textbooks – orthography, grammar, and a new lexicon that is worked on currently.

It is clear that such a cultural strength couldn't be destroyed, even despite tragic events in the period between 1992 and 1995.

REFERENCES

- Duraković, Enes i Esad – Nametak, Fehim, Bošnjačka književnost u književnoj kritici, Starija književnost, knjiga I, Alef, Sarajevo, 1998.
- Jahić, Dževad, Bosanski jezik u 100 pitanja i 100 odgovora, Ljiljan, Sarajevo, 1999.
- Jahić, Dževad, Bošnjački narod i njegov jezik, Ljiljan, Sarajevo, 1999.
- Jahić, Dževad – Halilović, Senahid – Palić, Ismail, Gramatika bosanskoga jezika, Dom štampe, Zenica, 2000.
- Rizvić, Muhsin, Panorama bošnjačke književnosti, Ljiljan, Sarajevo, 1994.
- Šator, Muhamed, Bosanski/hrvatski/srpski jezik u Bosni i Hercegovini do 1914., Fakultet humanističkih nauka, Mostar, 2004.

A LOOK AT THE BOSNIAN-OTTOMAN RELATIONS UNTIL 1463

Aladin Husić*

ABSTRACT

In this paper, we wanted to point in a nutshell to the genesis and dynamics of the Bosnian-Ottoman relations, and to the basic factors which dictated those relations. They started, as can be seen, in the 14th century and were changeable, conditioned by mutual political interests, the state of affairs in Bosnia itself, but also by the circumstances beyond it, first of all in Bosnia's immediate neighbourhood. Summarily, they ranged from the open confrontation to the occasional alliance.

If taken as a whole, it is possible to identify some important features of those relations. In the first phase that we can date to the year 1413, a certain balance is evident, which the Bosnian state managed to keep owing to its internal stability. Periodical incursions in the course of the 14th century ended mainly in the Ottoman army leaders' failure. Despite the evident hostility, back in the late 14th century, there were some indications of mutual coming closer motivated by political reasons due to the pressure from Hungary. This essentially affected the development of those relations and directed them to the increasing reliance of Bosnia's great lords on the Ottoman border authorities. Bosnia was often the ground where the Ottoman-Hungarian relations were settled.

Hrvoje's invitation to Ishak-bey in 1414 is considered crucial for the Ottomans' taking initiative over and final consolidation of their influence in Bosnia, when Ishak-bey offered him help on the occasion of Hungarian attack against his estates. Since then, the Ottomans turned more to Bosnian feudal lords, who built their position in relation to the King, but mutually as well, with the Sultan's support. Competition in who would obtain the liking and support also sped up the political collapse of their parastate formations. The King's occasional attempts to come closer to the Sultan did not produce any more significant results. The Ottoman Empire was generally with the opposition and to a degree commensurate with its interests, but occasionally it manifested its favour for the Bosnian King as well. That is why sometimes the position and installation of king depended on its support. So, frequently all participants were fully dependent on the Sultan's will, whose demands were incessantly bigger. When those demands became unbearable, it was already too late for a joint alliance as the Ottomans had established their permanent positions in the very centre of Bosnia, and soon their full authority in a greater part of medieval Bosnian Kingdom.

Like in other areas, the Ottomans appeared in Bosnia well before its conquest. Both in Bosnian and neighbouring historiographies, the incursions of the

* Oriental Institute, Sarajevo

Ottomans in 1386, 1388, and the participation of the Bosnian army in the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 are taken as the most relevant events in the early phase of the two worlds' encounters. If the Battle of Kosovo is exempted, the remaining two events are seen almost as incidental and a little adventurous campaigns of the Ottoman *akindžije* - volunteer soldiers strayed in Bosnia. A deeper study and context thereof give a different meaning to those incursions and disclose much more complex causes than the established presentation in literature. Besides that, their encounters in the 14th century were not limited only to those events.

The first direct encounter of the Ottoman world with Bosnia was in 1386, when the Ottoman troops reached the Neretva valley. In fact, that was only a continuation of their advancing onto the Balkan area after the conquest of Niš in 1386. By its force, that incursion was not a serious danger, but the question poses itself what its immediate motive was.

The unsuccessful attempt of the regional lords from Macedonia's area in 1371 to prevent further expansion westwards of the young Ottoman state on the river Maritsa, with the assistance of a broader coalition, confirmed the Ottomans' superiority and marked the new historical developments on the Balkans. Their final consolidation left a possibility either of confrontation or compromise. Although neither was optimistic, compromise delayed, at least for a while, the upcoming fall. The Battle on the Maritsa demonstrated that the formerly powerful Serb state, as the first to be affected, was not able, even with help from abroad, to respond to the new challenges. That made Lazar opt for alliance with the Sultan in lieu of hostilities. He even requested his forces' participation in the Ottoman Empire's campaigns. Such choice left the space fully open for a further and unimpeded incursion into Rumelia, as all rulers, except Albania's and Bosnia's, consented to the vassal relation and thus became, at least temporarily, the Ottoman state's allies. That is why all further attention was directed to the areas of Albania and Bosnia. In addition to being the only undefeated countries, they also presented the only forces which still were able to successfully offer resistance to the new growing power. When speaking of their rulers, Turkish chroniclers will say that they are "powerful and highly regarded". Along with these, some other factors, which contributed to keeping a certain balance in those relations, should be also emphasized as seen from the perspective of the conqueror. Those countries were still rather remote, difficult to access and rather unknown, with strong fortifications and, above all, as the chroniclers point out, with the exceptional courage of the population, which demanded long-term attrition.¹ That postponed future actions against them. All quoted difficulties were confirmed by the very first campaign of Timurtash against Albania in 1383, which ended in a failure. In one such campaign from Albania in autumn (October) 1386, they reached the valley of the river Neretva. Although it was estimated as an incursion with insignificant effects, according to Turkish chroniclers, a number of Bosniaks were captured, who already at that time were very respected not only by Bosnia's allies but also by the conquerors themselves.

¹ Salih Trako, *Pretkosovski događaji u Hešt bihištu Idrisa Bitlisija*, POF XX-XXI/1970-71, Sarajevo 1974, 159-204.

According to Bitlisi, those captives were drafted into the Ottoman army. This information can be taken as acceptable, but sending a delegation and agreement to pay the poll tax (*harač*)² do not seem convincing enough, nor have they been confirmed for the time being in other literature. Although with certain caution, a stimulus for this campaign against Bosnia is assigned to the regional ruler of Zeta, Đurađ Stratimirović Balšić for his hostility against Tvrtko I (1353-1391), who had occupied his Kotor, and his interest to come closer to the Turks as his lands were most in danger.³ The other incursion was also a result of a conflict beyond Bosnia.

Actually, Lazar's cancellation of alliance with the Sultan (1387) and his incursion into Imperial lands geared the direction of further campaigns again westwards, which means towards Bosnia as well. In August 1388, quite strong forces under the command of Šahin-pasha reached Bosnia near Bileća.⁴ Putting the accent on the victory of King of Bosnia's army, under the leadership of Vlatko Vuković, some other essential circumstances of that campaign are pushed into the background.

Since Lazar had to seek alliance with the Bosnian King Tvrtko I (1353 – 1391), one of "the greatest and most powerful neighbouring rulers", after the relations with the Sultan had deteriorated, one would expect the alliance with Lazar to be punished. That is why the Sultan decided to send his army against Bosnia in 1388. This time, with much more indication, it is stressed that the campaign was launched on the initiative of Đurađ Stratimirović. The Turkish chronicler Neshri also speaks of this. His complicity is also confirmed by the participation of the Zetans in the troops which broke into Bosnia, which was confirmed by the information from Dubrovnik about the attempts to get the captives from Zeta freed.⁵ Diplomatic attempts to negotiate with Šahin produced no results as the incursion had taken place before the envoy came to him.⁶

Sensing no cheating, Šahin-pasha accepted the Albanian ruler's offer to help against Bosnia. When the incautiousness of Šahin-pasha's soldiers reached its climax, as previously agreed with the King of Bosnia, the ruler of Shkodër attacked the Imperial army's relaxed and scattered groups. The rough terrain and narrow passes sped up a complete dispersal of the units. This event was attributed great importance as this was the first major failure of the most prominent army leader of the time. Those two defeats fully confirm the validity of the decision to postpone a campaign against Bosnia. The chronicles do not only fail to play down the defeat,

2 Ibid, 191.

3 Sima Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države*, Beograd 1964, 158; Đuro Tošić, *Bosna i Turci od Kosovske do Angorske bitke*, Zbornik za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine, I, Beograd 1995, 85.

4 S. Trako, *Pretkosovski događaji, 193-194*; Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk. Postanak i upravna podjela*, Sarajevo 1982, 19; S. Ćirković, *Istorija*, 158.

5 S. Ćirković, *Istorija*, 158; Đ. Tošić, *Bosna i Turci*, 86.

6 Konstantin Jireček, *Istorija Srba I*, Beograd 1952, 324; Đ. Tošić, *Bosna i Turci*, 86.

but, on the contrary, they tell of the heroism of and respect for the Bosnian soldiers.⁷

After that failure, a new Sultan's campaign was imminent and he did not hesitate to punish the disobedient and to take revenge for the defeat he had suffered. The reasons therefor were manifold. Besides his giving up of obedience, Lazar also rose in rebellion. The Albanian ruler, in addition to a particular betrayal by refusing submission together with the Bosnian King, inflicted a defeat which took away 10-15 thousand soldiers.⁸ That was quite enough for the Sultan's energetic response. On the other hand, Lazar and other rulers, conscious of the fact, saw the only solution in their joint action. The Sultan was informed about the formation of the coalition and that was an additional reason for action. This time the Serb Prince Lazar was branded as the initiator of and instigator to rebellion. For an easier campaign against them, the Sultan spent the winter in Plovdiv. For Lazar that was a clear sign of the Sultan's intentions. For this reason he brought together his allies and, as Bitlisi says, the coalition was formed of "seven infidel emperors". However, this chronicler emphasises especially the place, importance and role of the Bosnian ruler in that coalition, who, according to him, took the main position among the allies.⁹ The exploit of 1388 was not only a victory of Tvrtko I, but it also increased his reputation in the eyes of others, brought haughtiness and hope for the possibility of a greater success, particularly within a broader coalition. From Bitlisi's chronicle we can see that the ruler of Bosnia was the coalition main leader.¹⁰

The armed conflict took place on 15 June (28 June of the new calendar) 1389 at the Kosovo Field, which is very little known of except its general outcome. What can be seen from Bitlisi's telling is that the army of the king of Bosnia, together with Lazar and Vuk Branković, had the key war role in the Battle of Kosovo.¹¹ In fact, King of Bosnia's army was led by Vlatko Vuković as the Bosnian King was busy with the fighting for towns in Dalmatia. The number of Bosnian soldiers who took part in the battle and other details are unknown. That little information which has been preserved in various forms, as information or oral tradition, is often divergent. In the letters King Tvrtko sent to Trogir (1 August 1389), and somewhat later to Florence, he describes the Battle of Kosovo as his triumph in which the Bosnian army suffered insignificant losses, and the Ottomans a serious defeat.¹² The real effects of the Bosniaks' participation are unknown, just as many other issues are. The only thing known is that some members of the Bosnian landed nobility were captured at Kosovo. From later sources, we learn

7 S. Trako, *Pretkosovski događaji*, 195-196.

8 Salih Trako, *Bitka na Kosovu 1389. godine u Istoriji Idriza Bitlisija*, POF XIV-XV, Sarajevo 1969, 329-351.

9 S. Trako, *Bitka na Kosovu*, 335.

10 S. Trako, *Bitka na Kosovu*, 340.

11 S. Trako, *Bitka na Kosovu*, 345.

12 Mihaljić Rade, *Kosvska bitka, Istorija srpskog naroda, Druga knjiga, Doba borbi za očuvanje i obnovu države (1371-1537)*, Beograd 1982, 43.

about diplomatic efforts, through Dubrovnik, to get more information about the individuals from the ranks of the Bosnian landed nobility who had been taken captives. Back during the rule of Tvrtko I, early in 1390, there were such attempts, and later we learned about some specific names being looked for. In 1403, Mihać Milošević's relatives were trying to find out about his destiny¹³; some other names of the captured were also mentioned, such as Borovina Vukašinović, Vlač and Stipan Zlatonosović.¹⁴

The information from Turkish sources, including Bitlisi's chronicle, tells of the victory, which is confirmed by the further course of events. The Ottomans' presence in the Balkans as of then would not be only occasional and rare incursions, but very frequent, with the occupation of certain positions from which systematic conquests of certain strongholds continued. The occupation of Skoplje in 1392 and the presence of a quadi at Jeleč near Novi Pazar in 1396 announced not a very peaceful epoch for the neighbouring countries and, consequently, for Bosnia.

A difficult task of defence against the increasingly aggressive Ottomans was before Tvrtko I's successors. From the Charter dated (1 April) 1392, it is evident that the Bosnian King Dabiša (1391 – 1395) called up elders, war lords, princes, state cadastre clerks, county heads and other noble estate owners for the fight against them.¹⁵ From a later Charter (2 April 1394), we can see he was successful against the Ottomans. In 1392, the King rewarded the Bosnian great lord Hrvoje Vukčić for that success by giving him Kakanj and Hrast to his possession. However, we will very soon see Hrvoje in a different relation to Turks.

The brothers Semković are mentioned in the 1395 Charter as deserving in the battle against the Turks, but it is not fully clear if this refers to 1393 or to an earlier event. Although it has not reliably been confirmed that the fighting took place on Glasinac, where the Sultan's army camp seems to have been, it has not been rejected either.¹⁶ Those events tell that Bosnia manifested its former strength also at Dabiša's times.

During Dabiša's lifetime, especially after his death (1395), the relations with Hungary came to the foreground. Sigismund's pretensions did not end only with a wish to have influence on Bosnia, but he also attempted to become Bosnia's king after Dabiša.¹⁷ Bosnian landed nobility then broke up into two streams: one in favour of cooperation with the Hungarian Court, and the other in favour of moving

13 Povijest Bosne i Hercegovine od najstarijih vremena do 1463. Knjiga I, HKD Napredak, Sarajevo 1991, 392; Pavao Anđelić, Originalni dijelovi dvije bosanske povelje u falzifikatima Ivana Tomke Marnavića, GZM, Arheologija, N.S. XXVI, 1971, 356 (347-360); S.

Čirković, Istorija, 1964, 159; D. Tošić, Bosna i Turci, 87.

14 Ignacij Voje, Sitni prilozi za istoriju srednjovjekovne Bosne, GDI, BiH XVI, Sarajevo 1965, 227-229; D. Tošić, Bosna i Turci, 87;

15 Miloš Blagojević, Tepčije u srednjovjekovnoj Srbiji, Bosni i Hrvatskoj, IG, 1-2, 1976, 35; P. Anđelić, Originalni dijelovi, 350; Pavo Živković, Tvrtko II Tvrtković, Bosna u prvoj polovini 15. stoljeća, Sarajevo 1981, 13.

16 P. Anđelić, Originalni dijelovi, 350; Povijest Bosne, 357; Salih Sidki Hadžihusinović Muvekkit, Povijest Bosne I, Sarajevo 1999, 31.

17 S. Čirković, Istorija, 174; P. Živković, Tvrtko II, 14.

away from Sigismund. There are some indications that the opponents to the cooperation with Hungary then formed an alliance with the Turks, and, after the defeat of Hungary near Nikopolje (25 September 1396), broke into the Požega area together with the Turks.¹⁸ If this had indeed happened, much more realistic sounds Muvekkīt's claim that Tvrtko II established friendly relations with the Ottomans back in 1395/96. This, however, confirms a kind of cooperation, even if this had been opposition.¹⁹ Upon Dabiša's death, Tvrtko II²⁰ expected to ascend to the throne, but the landed nobility did not want him. On the other hand, the official authorities in Bosnia, aware of the unequal position, tried to keep benevolent relations even if they sometimes were to their own detriment. When Sandalj Hranić had captured a number of soldiers in a smaller incursion (8 June 1396), the Royal Court ordered their release to avoid a more serious incident.

What emerged in the future relations as a novelty is that invitations started to arrive from Bosnia itself and that on its ground present were not only Ottoman forces, but the forces of their vassals as well. Back in 1397, Ostoja invited the Turks to help against the claimant to the throne Tvrtko II.²¹ Although the invitation was a justified motive, one should have in mind that in 1397 many Vuk Branković's fortifications were taken, which completely opened the route towards Bosnia. Late that year, an expedition led by the Sultan's sons, assisted by Stefan Lazarević, set off to Bosnia and arrived early in January 1398. Although that was the biggest campaign until then, its effects, having in mind the sharp winter in which the Turkish soldiers did not perform their best, were not so dramatic.²² What happened immediately after that is less known. Literature records one more incursion in 1399, which was directed rather to Dubrovnik than to Bosnia. The Dubrovnik authorities accused the Bosnians of having agreed on that with the Turks.²³ This and some other indications mean that some kind of cooperation, however, did exist. Sigismund accused Hrvoje openly of cooperation with the Turks, and that is confirmed by the Dubrovnik sources. Sigismund wanted to punish Hrvoje's close relations with the Turks (in July 1398) by an incursion into his properties in Bosnia, into the Lower Regions, but, fortunately for Hrvoje, he failed.²⁴ Sigismund's pressure and the imminent danger probably made Hrvoje continue and reinforce his close relations with the Turks. With his mediation, a Turkish delegation should have travelled to Apulia, via Bosnia, for negotiations

18 S. Ćirković, *Istorija*, 176; Đ. Tošić, *Bosna i Turci*, 91-92.

19 Muvekkīt, *Povijest Bosne* 1, 32.

20 Tvrtko II (1404 – 1409; 1421 – 1443)

21 Vladimir Ćorović, *Historija Bosne*, Beograd 1940, 356.

22 V. Ćorović, *Historija Bosne*, 397; S. Ćirković, *Istorija* 184.

23 M. Spremić, *Turski tributari u XIV i XV veku*, *Istorijski glasnik Društva istoričara SR Srbije*, 1-2, Beograd 1970, 34; Boris Nilević,

Srednjovjekovna Bosna i Osmansko carstvo, Bosna i svijet, Sarajevo 1996, 67.

24 S. Ćirković, *Istorija*, 193-94; *Povijest Bosne i Hercegovine*, 376.

with King Ladislav of Naples, but they were held up by the Dubrovnik authorities.²⁵

Further development of those relations, true for a short time, was conditioned by the state of affairs in the Ottoman Empire. The evident internal crisis in the Empire was not used by the Balkan countries, as they themselves sank much deeper into their internal conflicts. It was difficult to expect any action, which would be of mutual interest, to avert the danger and push back the Turks from the areas they ruled. With no pretensions and possibilities of further advancement, satisfying themselves with the current state, the Turks drew the Balkan princes into their own (the Turks') fights, simultaneously inciting conflicts among them (the princes). If isolated contacts are excluded, Bosnia entered, as far as the relations with the Ottoman Empire are concerned, at least temporarily a more peaceful era which lasted approximately one decade, until the full consolidation of the rule and the Sultan's recovery of authority.

Although fragmentary, the information from that era points more to friendly than rival relations, but by no means does it point to more serious hostility. There is a record that one of the princes sent his envoy to Hrvoje to mediate between Bosnia and Hungary.²⁶ Much more significant than this is the information that Sandalj Hranić received from prince Sulejman (1411) and kept Turkish mercenary detachments, whose strength, according to reports, was estimated at 7,000 soldiers.²⁷ Like the neighbouring countries, the Bosnian great lords could not remain isolated from the complicated relations in the Balkans. At the request of Stefan Lazarević, Sandalj Hranić was drawn into the conflicts between the Ottoman princes in favour of Mehmed, against Musa, whom Stefan in this way wanted to take revenge on for the defeat and devastation of his country. Time will show that for them that was not a good choice. With the defeat of Musa, preconditions were created for the power consolidation of the Ottoman Empire, which as of then would play the main role in the balance of relations in Bosnia itself. They used the well-tested tactics of helping one great lord against another, thus weakening Bosnia's internal power, preparing for its final conquest. Their influence became so strong that it decided the outcome of inauguration of Bosnia's king.

The first more significant imbroglio in Bosnia, after the consolidation of the internal circumstances within the Ottoman Empire, was resolved by its intervention. When Bosnian great lord Hrvoje Vukčić was declared a renegade by King Sigismund of Hungary in 1413, and the expected support from Venice failed, he requested support of the Turks. Unless he exaggerates in his address to the Venetians, Hrvoje received respectable help in 30,000 men. Even if we cannot take this as certainly reliable, it is certain that in May 1414 the governor of Skoplje,

25 D. Tošić, *Bosna i Turci*, 93.

26 S. Ćirković, *Istorija*, 207.

27 H. Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 37.

Ishak-bey, was in Bosnia, and Hrvoje could feel completely safe. The complexity of those relations is confirmed by the fact that the former king Tvrtko II appeared together with the Turks, probably brought by Hrvoje's choice. That was an occasion for him to avail himself, with their help, of the crown again. Such a course of events did not suit the Hungarians and they took measures not only against Hrvoje but also to push the Turks out of Bosnia. In the mid-July 1415, the Hungarians suffered a serious defeat in the Lašva valley near Travnik. Those events had manifold consequences. That meant definite consolidation of the Turkish influence and their key role in the internal circumstances in Bosnia. Hungary's influence lost its former significance, and in the 15th century it was brought down mainly to the recognition of the Bosnian King's vassal relation. Bosnia was put in a tributary relation to the Sultan and will remain in it, with some shorter breaks, until the loss of its independence in 1463. Accusations of this were made, mainly, against Hrvoje Vukčić, who was considered the major culprit who brought the Bosnian state into the position of a Turkish vassal.²⁸

All further events were in favour of the Sultan and his army leaders, who skilfully used the conflicts between the great lords at odds, and from time to time raided Bosnian territory, often at their request. The storm had not yet blown over Hrvoje's invitation, after the murder of Pavle Radenović at Kraljeva Sutjeska in the summer of 1415, when his sons Petar and Pavle required help of the Turks against Sandalj Hranić. After their intervention, Petar and Radoslav Pavlović succeeded in keeping all their estates, but they were not satisfied with only that. With the help from Turkish detachments, they attacked Sandalj Hranić's properties. On that occasion, in 1416 the Sultan sent to Bosnia two of his envoys under the pretence of reconciling the parties in conflict. This actually covered up the attempt to dethrone Ostoja. He found that out and, reasonably, did not turn up at the meeting, where he was to be captured and put to prison.²⁹

For the service rendered, the brothers Peter and Radoslav Pavlović committed themselves to a vassal position. The moment he broke his promise in 1420, Petar was killed. Sandalj Hranić, too, turned to the Turks for protection, recognising their authority and accepting to pay the poll tax. Thus all major actors on the Bosnian political stage greatly depended on the Sultan's support, and the outcome of any conflict in Bosnia depended on their estimation and will. That is why the Dubrovnik authorities reported to Queen Barbara that the real ruler of Bosnia was Sultan's war lord Ishak, whom Turocz called "king of Bosnia".³⁰

King Ostoja's death in 1418 could have been an opportunity for new, even stronger, interference of the Turks, but that did not happen. After the murder of

28 V. Ćorović, *Historija*, 412-413; Sima Ćirković, *Dve godine bosanske istorije (1414 i 1415)*, *Istorijski glasnik*, 3-4, Beograd 1953, 31; S. Ćirković, *Istorija*, 242; Hazim Šabanović, *Pitanje turske vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini do pohoda Mehmeda II 1463. godine*, *GDIBiH*, VII/1955, Sarajevo 1955, 39; P. Živković, *Tvrtko II*, 67.

29 S. Ćirković, *Istorija*, 243-245.

30 S. Ćirković, *Istorija*, 248-250; *Povijest Bosne i Hercegovine*, 450.

Petar Pavlović, they were not so intensively present in Bosnia. But, their major allies, Hrvoje and Pavle, were no more on the scene, whose calls they had often answered and come to help. Irrespective of the Turks' certain absence from Bosnia, the obligation to pay the poll tax was not discontinued.

Nevertheless, in 1424 soon after the reinstallation of Tvrtko II (1421 – 1443) as king, Ishak was in Bosnia. Regardless of the obligation to pay the poll tax, which already had been 20,000 ducats, Tvrtko II started the policy of the gradual drawing closer to Hungary. The Ottoman Empire soon reacted thereto with a new incursion into Bosnia in 1426, meeting no resistance. With his orientation to the West and marriage from a Western dynastic house, in 1427 Tvrtko II transferred the right of inheritance of the Bosnian crown. Thus Bosnia found itself under a double vassalage, to the Hungarian King and the Sultan.³¹

This will incite the Ottoman border military authorities to substitute the occupation of strategically more important passes for the past tactics of incursions into Bosnia without longer stays. There are some indications that in 1429 they occupied some Bosnian fortifications for the ransom of which Tvrtko II asked Dubrovnik for help in 1430.³² In the coming two decades, periodical control of some fortifications and longer stays on Bosnia's soil would become the major feature of Bosnian-Ottoman relations.

Dissatisfied with his policy, Tvrtko's opponents tried to dethrone him and mount to the throne the opposing king Radivoj. In view of that, Radivoj visited the Porte in 1432 and offered his country to the Sultan. It is unknown what the Ottoman Empire's real role was in the events in the following two years, but the results indicate to their huge involvement. Actually, Radivoj managed in 1433/34 to occupy a larger number of fortified towns in Bosnia, about thirty according to some sources, when King Tvrtko II was forced to step down. The opposing king Radivoje with his followers, helped by the Turks, held the major fortified points in Bosnia: Jajce, Vranduk, Bočac, Hodidjed, Komotin, and some others.³³ Under such pressure, Tvrtko II had to leave Bosnia and temporarily ask for a refuge at the Hungarian Court. Tvrtko used the Turks' engagement on the problems in Albania for his return to the country and the recovery of the occupied towns. The death of Sandalj Hranić (March 1435), Radivoje's important foothold, contributed to that success. Sandalj's death meant the departure of the last figure from the generation of the Bosnian feudal lords who behaved almost independently of the King. Their successors had neither their power nor authority, and, additionally, the foreign influence grew stronger to the point where they completely were dependent on the Sultan or his governor. Support was no longer obtained only through inclination, consent to vassal relations, but the alliance and military engagement had to be paid in cash. For the great lord Radoslav Pavlović's due debts, in 1440 the Sultan gave

31 S. Ćirković, *Istorija*, 260-261.

32 V. Ćorović, *Historija Bosne*, 437.

33 P. Živković, *Tvrtko II*, 168-172.

Stefan Vukčić Trebinje with its surroundings, with the obligation for him to pay off the debt.³⁴ This piece of information clearly shows to what extent they had control over the circumstances in Bosnia.

The change on the Bosnian throne in 1443 after Tvrtko II's death and Stjepan Tomaš's ascension to the throne (1443-1461) could not influence more seriously a change in relations. Tomaš wanted to continue the course of relying on the West. But the 1444 unsuccessful attempt of the Christian coalition to expel the Turks from Europe and the defeat at Varna made the Bosnian King question his relation at least temporarily. He got Stefan Vukčić's support and inclination through the marriage to his daughter and thus via him attempted to come closer to the Turks as well. This, however, did not last long as already in 1448, as is often pointed out, Stefan Vukčić in agreement with the Turks took on the title of Herceg, which was a sign of a breakaway from the King.³⁵

The Turks waited no more for the information on the circumstances in Bosnia; they watched what was going on there directly from Bosnia itself. According to some still insufficiently reliable information, they lastingly occupied, back in 1448, Hodidjed near Sarajevo, i.e., the very heart of the Bosnian Kingdom. Even if this information is not sufficiently reliable, it confirms that they were constantly present in it as of 1451.³⁶

Additionally, Bosnia was under a burden of the poll tax, which exhausted both the rulers and their subjects. Stefan Tomaš had to pay 40,000 ducats annually, which was a huge amount even for the circumstances in Western Europe.³⁷

At least with some individuals, the Turks still enjoyed a particular allied status although the Herceg on the Sultan's command had to return all the estates in Konavle. In spite of that, they were of great help to Herceg in his settling scores with the rebel-sons in 1453.³⁸

The eventual end of vacillation and constant attempts to strike a balance between the Ottoman Empire and Hungary seems to have come at the moment when the Sultan came up with new, doubtlessly unexpected requests. Namely, of the Bosnian king and great lords he requested army, means and personal participation in the campaign against Belgrade in 1456, and also some towns of the King. Then there followed a request to ban the export of silver from Bosnia, i.e., to redirect all the quantities to the Sultan's mint under the inspection of Sultan's commissioners.³⁹

34 S. Ćirković, *Istorija*, 272.

35 S. Ćirković, *Istorija*, 289-290.

36 H. Šabanović, *Pitanje vlasti* 45-51 ; H. Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk* 35.

37 Boris Nilević, *O moralnom stanju Bosne pred 1463. gđinu*, POF 40/1990, Sarajevo 1991, 122.

38 S. Ćirković, *Istorija*, 305.

39 S. Ćirković, *Istorija*, 311; Sima Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić – Kosača i njegovo doba*, Beograd 1964, 227.

The Sultan's failure at Belgrade roused certain hopes that salvation was possible through forming a Christian coalition at the front of which the Bosnian King saw himself. The Herzeg still enjoyed a sort of Sultan's inclination, but when in 1460 his estates were attacked, he realised what was in store for him. Irrespective of their earlier relations, he had to buy peace with 40,000 ducats. He, too, had to turn to the West.⁴⁰

The ascension to the throne of the new Bosnian king, Stjepan Tomašević (1461- 63), could not affect in any essential way the further outcome of Bosnia's destiny, nor did the Sultan's policy towards Bosnia change. The only remaining thing was to strike the last blow for which an excuse had to be found, and to crown many-decade long influence and occasional presence with the complete integration of its territory into the fold of the Ottoman Empire. Flattering promises from the West encouraged and incited the King to arrogance and so sped up his end. All attempts to get support from the West failed. For fear of retaliation, they sometimes were deprived even of buying arms. The Sultan achieved his aims in the spring of 1463, and thus put an end to the relations which in various degrees of intensity lasted for almost full eight decades.

40 S. Ćirković, Stefan Vukčić Kosača, 241-242.

BOSNIA BOGOMIL'S IN THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE OF MEDIEVAL BOSNIA

Salih Jalimam*

ABSTRACT

The report: Bosnia-Bogomil's in the Social and Political Life of Medieval Bosnia, seeks to establish, using available historical sources, opinions and schools of thought in historical literature, the basic characteristics of Bosnian heretics (also known as dualists, Bogomil's, patarens katars) and their connection with socio-political life of medieval Bosnia.

The intention of the report is to identify historical relations and confirm unequivocal links Bosnian heretics had with all segments of medieval Bosnian society; the links which, because of certain, often tragic ideological and political goals were unfortunately ignored or marginalised.

There are numerous historical sources referring to the presence of Bosnian Bogomil's in medieval Bosnia, its society, political life, culture and diplomacy; these sources are unequivocal and paint much better and livelier picture than dry and formal chronicles.

The relationship between Bosnian Bogomil's and medieval state Bosnia should not be treated as a classic relationship between a state and a religion. There are numerous reasons why this relationship was unique, most of which are often overlooked due to tendencies which tempted many researchers to make final judgements on the place Bosnian Bogomil's occupied in the social and political life medieval Bosnia.

All recorded historical sources related to medieval Bosnia point that, in the long period from the end of twelfth century till the political fall of medieval Bosnia the Bosnian Bogomil's occupied important, often deciding position in political, social and statehood matters of medieval Bosnia. They represented the most respected society layer and played an extraordinary role in the medieval Bosnian society.

All these facts give a different picture of the position of Bosnian Bogomil's which had a profound effect on nearly all segments of medieval Bosnia society.

The Bosnian heretic appeared in the precisely defined socio-economical and political circumstances, so they were the interest of the feudal lords and rulers, in the long period from the end of twelfth century till the political fall of medieval

* Assoc. Prof. Dr., University of Zenica

The Bosnian Bogomil's are the most important event and the most interesting occurrence in a long history of medieval Bosnia in the socio-political, state, religious, ideological and economical domain. Discussions on the Bosnian Bogomil's origin, roots, links, contacts and relations, essence of the religious teachings, organisation and the role in the society and the state, have been held over more than one century. Franjo Rački, laid the scientific foundations in his work called "Bogomili i patareni" whose results are still the basis for research of this historical occurrence. Authentic historical material about the Bosnian Bogomil's includes almost all manuscripts written in the Bosnian, Latin, Greek, Italian, Turkish, Slavic languages, from the transcripts, letters and orders of the popes, church and secular dignitaries, over different polemically intoned theological debates, reports of missionaries and inquisitors, Catholic and Orthodox monks and priests, the inscriptions, accounts of the travels, works of historical contents, legal documents, and church's synods till the various diplomatic documents, scribes notes of native and foreign provenance. This historical material that has been identified and preserved in quality and quantity, on the whole or in some details is unequal in the historiographic sens, but it unambiguously asserts that the Bosnian Bogomil's are dual movement, and authentic and native occurrence in medieval Bosnian society.

Many dilemmas concerning the Bosnia Bogomil's have been noted in the historical survey, above all the dilemmas about the genesis that contain one important and essential question of the roots and the religious teaching of the Bosnian Bogomil's. According to the results of the latest research, the Bosnian Bogomil's appeared in the Historical sources as a separate and authentical social and religious rebellion at the end of the twelfth century with their special and specific organisation and religious belief. They had already at that time been recorded in the historical sources under different names (faith of good Bosnians, the Bosnian Church, our faith, the Bogomil's, heresy, Christian's), however it is all about medieval Bosnian particularity that had strong and precise connections with similar European and Asian movements. It is important to point out that the Bosnian Bogomil's appeared in one specific socio-economical period of medieval Bosnia as religious and theological thought and free peasantry spirit who lost a part their freedom though the introduction of strong feudalism and etatism. In respect of the politics and state establishment, the Bosnian Bogomil's were the synonym of fight for free medieval Bosnia. The Bosnian Bogomil's separated themselves from the Orthodox and the Catholic's with their theological understanding of genesis and the nature of good and evil. One more general and basic question that is contained there is the question of the relation between God's perfection and imperfect human nature.

According to the religious teaching of the Bosnian Bogomil's if God is perfect, his work, the world we live is full of chaos, suffering and evil. It is up to the most religious soul, too, to conclude either that God is the creator of that evil which leads to the fact that He is not the source of perfection, and so not the real god either, or to conclude the opposite, that He is not the creator of veil, so the

origin of evil should be sought in someone and something that is more independent of deity.

Considering man himself to be a product of evil and condemning everything material, the Bosnian Bogomil's were trying to avoid evil by a religious life condemning the glow of the Catholic and Orthodox Church, killing the animals and people. They despised icons, sacred secrets, religious service, while partly they were against the powerful and the rich.

The hierarchical organization of the Bosnian Bogomil's was firmly established where at the highest position is did, on the lower govt, and at the lowest position are starac and congregation. They lived in hiža's (houses of the Bosnian Bogomil's) which are the houses of faith but whose vicinity was cultivated. In essence and determination, the Bosnian Bogomil's were divided in two groups : "the real Christian's without sins" and "sinners".

Through the interpretation of the social foundation it is difficult to say who were majority of believers and adherents of the Bosnian Bogomil's. It is assumed that they were peasants and farmers who attached to the land not active in socio-economical sense, especially in times of social changes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In the history of medieval Bosnia the Bosnia Bogomil's had an extremely important role since, beside other roles; they specifically shaped and marked its feudalism, so it was different from the feudalism in the neighbouring states (Catholic and Orthodox states). The Bosnian Bogomil's appeared in the precisely defined socio economical and political circumstances, so they were the guardians and guarantee for the interest of the feudal lords and rulers, with one important characteristic of the neighbouring states and the Catholic Church.

During the whole Middle Ages Bosnia Bogomil's represented the domain and the only socio-political force in medieval Bosnia that resisted the penetration from everywhere (whether it was the military political one the Hungarian rules or the religious one by the Catholic or Orthodox Church). According to the available historical material it can be concluded that there was no anti-feudal manifestation in the activities of the Bosnian Bogomil's, because according to all the indications, the teaching, the organization of their community and the way they performed their rituals explicitly show that they were the historical necessity, the spirit and breeze of the time when all that occurred.

All historical sources, a part of the narrative material and different secondary documents conform that the Bosnian Bogomil's were not the Bogomil's exiled from the medieval Serbian state, nor the Bogomil's and the heretic exiled from Split, Trogir or Zadar, nor they come from the medieval Hungarian kingdom but they are the native population, "good Bosnian's" inspired by one specific religions teaching that can be and should be compared with many similar ones in the European or Asian medieval societies that are called: the heretical movements.

The claim closer to the truth is that the Bosnian Bogomil's were inspired by the heretical, mystic teaching from the east that the Catholic and Orthodox Churches rejected and persecuted its adherents. There is conformation about the importance of the Bosnian Bogomil's in the medieval European heretical scope, whether it is about the religious teaching, the organization or help in many manifestations. The question of the religious schools in medieval Bosnian in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is still the subject that requires a researcher.

The anathema of the Catholic and Orthodox Church made an influence on the Bosnian Bogomil's so that already during the reign of the Bosnian ban Stjepan Kotromanic II (1322-1353) in medieval Bosnia they became a public and legitimate religions movement. Their indisputable and omnipresent authority in the internal politics affairs of medieval Bosnia is also confirmed by the two undated charters of the Bosnian ban Stjepan Kotromanic II from the third decade of the fourteenth century. Sometime later, during the reign of the ban and king Tvrtko Kotromanic I (1353-1391) their influence even in creased. So in 1377. the pope wrote to the archbishops and bishops of Dalmatia, Croatia, Albania and Bosnia that king Tvrtko I permitted the Bosnian Bogomil's "the heretic and the Bogomil's whose protector he is, to go to the religious service" and when the Franciscans stop the service, the secular priests who had been sent there or who volunteered were to continue the service. Within the historical sources there are enough strong pieces of evidence that can identify and confirm the position and the role of the Bosnian Bogomil's in the social structure of medieval Bosnia, in almost all segments especially in the system of organization of the government. One special feature that characterizes the influence of the Bosnian Bogomil's is the religious one which is usually emphasize in a pretensions way or sometimes minimized. However, it is all about the particularities of the medieval being that in communication with the east and the west had many relations with a number of the European heretical communities, managed to impose itself as an equal members of the community of those who were deprived of their rights and who fought against the inconsistency of medieval.

Being founced on the Bosnian Bogomil's were not, as it had been assumed, only passive observers and registers of everything that happened around them, but they were the interpreters and very active participants ain all important events from the history of medieval Bosnia. According to the information from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they also offered the physical resistance to each foreign intervention or they participated in the state, political, diplomatic, cultural and public life.

One of the characteristic questions related to the Bosnian Bogomil's is also the question of the way they supported themselves when they, as their enemies said, despised any physical work. They worked as scribes, transcribers, illustrators and calligraphers, counsellors and diplomats at the courts of the rulers and the prominent Bosnian feudal lords, preaching their religious teaching. They were

famous for promotion of literacy and literary creativity, because they signed the margins as the Bosnian Bogomil's (Christian Hval, Christian Radosav).

With the conquests in fourteenth century the regions with the Catholic and Orthodox population become a part of medieval Bosnia but the Bosnian Bogomil's did not loose their precedence in the society. In the fifteenth century the society come into contact with islam and that was to initiate the acceptance of islam by a number of the Bosnian Bogomil's, which caused their gradual disappearance.

It has already been mentioned that the Bosnian Bogomil's are the most valuable occurrence in the history of medieval Bosnia and with many of their manifestations they have on important role in creative the religions, social, political and cultural life.

They are remembered for the various interesting connections, strong support of common people, they have remained faith of good Bosnian's, independent and free like the state they lived in and protection of the medieval Bosnian state.

**PRIME MINISTRY
GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF STATE ARCHIVES
IMPORTANCE OF OTTOMAN ARCHIVES
IN THE HISTORY OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA**

Yusuf Sarınoy*

Gazi Hüsrev Bey Library situated in Sarajevo (*Saraybosna*) which has rich Ottoman sources, had a collection comprised of many writings donated by 120 persons and small collections of other foundations during the period between the years 1537-1980 besides the materials accumulated since the establishment of the foundation.¹ It has lost around 7500 writings and most of the other documents it has owned under the bombardments of Serbian artillery forces. Writings and archive documents at the Institute of Eastern Studies have also had heavy damages.² These attack and vandalism methods have appeared exactly in the same way, after twelve years, during the destruction of land register records at the Office of Register of Deeds in the Kerkük Local Administration Building. How could the states of minds of Peshmerges and Serbian artillery forces living in different geographies combine in the same methods of barbarism? Which focus was feeding such actions aimed at destroying the roots of the social consciousness of belonging? Answers to such questions are hidden in the owners of the historical wills oriented to our geography where the “New World Order” expressions and “Great Middle-East Project” are put into force day by day and “velvet-soft” revolutions are brought on stage.

Mongols realizing the largest invasion action ever in the world history have also destroyed Baghdad which was the world center of science, understanding and civilization. Cenghiz Khan’s claim was to impose the hegemony of the nomadic world onto the settled nations by force and pressure and to establish a universal empire of peace. Keeping in mind the fact that the Dicle River has flown in the color of red ink at those times, it is not so difficult to understand that the aims of the modern vandals are the same. Books, libraries, gravestones, names of locations and the archives have always been the first targets in such great transitions. Knowledge owners of Baghdad loosing their books have not had many difficulties in transferring those texts they have memorized to the future. But the state system projects could not be re-established. Administration mechanisms have been implemented by copying from the İlhanlılar State of which the traces have reached the modern times.

* Assoc. Prof. Dr., Director-General of the Prime Ministry General Directorate of State Archives

1 FAROQHI, Suraiya, *Osmanlı Tarihi Nasıl İncelenir?* (How Should the Ottoman History be Examined), p.49, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul.1999

2 Same book, p.58.

Right at this stage, the value of our archives which incorporate the accumulations of our state administration and social categorization experiences for hundreds of years and have the primary importance in transmitting such accumulations into the future should be well appreciated. We are now discussing how the changes in the criminal law provisions will make the law cases (*içtihat*) established in our country's judicial system until today inoperative and expressing our hesitations on the facts that they may cause delays in the performance of justice and, thus, make the people unsatisfied with the situation. It would not be possible to talk about our history of classical law on these lands if we disregard the legal documents (*adaletnames* and *kanunnames*) like Registers of Important Events (*Mühimme Defterleri*) in which the Imperial Council (*Divân-ı Humayûn*) have been recorded as well as the Fiscal (*Ahkam*), Complaint (*Şikayet*) and Shariah (*Şeriye*) Registers existing in our archives. How would we have ideas on our legal history if we would lose the document and registers of the higher legal institutions like Supreme Council (*Meclis-i Vâlâ*), State Council (*Şurâ-yı Devlet*) and Civil Court (*Divân-ı Ahkam-ı Adliye*) which always existed in the past? These archive materials are the excellent monuments of a legal order in a hierarchical structure we can be proud of. What a grim reality for the big modern states is to learn that we are able to see the world's first collective bargaining between workers and an employer in the shariah registers from around Kütahya. All the documents and registers are reflecting a social state understanding. How would we understand why the "Conquerers" have not been regarded as occupiers, if we were not aware of the Codes (*kanunname*) added before the written works in the newly conquered regions?

It is not possible to write the real histories of the states arising after dissolution of the Ottoman Empire without deeply examining this archive. It becomes clearer that many things that are known as historical facts should be reviewed again as researches are made on the legal, political, scientific, militaristic, demographic and architectural issues. Keeping these in mind, I thought it would be correct to mention the meanings of the document and registered at the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives regarding the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Materials existing in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives may be described generally as register and document collections. Maps, plans, projects and photographs are the elements enriching these materials. These documents that have accumulated in the administrative mechanisms of the Ottoman Empire and generated in the real life are primarily important among historical sources. During the classification studies conducted since the times of Ottoman Empire, there have been funds attributed to the document groups (Imperial Edicts - *Hatt-ı Humayun*, Classified Decrees - *İrade tasnifleri*) and the institutions they have been transferred (Registers Transferred from Ministry of Finance - *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler*) as well as the ones attributed to the elite heads of committees like Ali Emiri, İbnülemin, Muallim Cevdet and Kamil Kepeci. These documents are being classified according to the Provenance method under the principle of "*the archive materials belonging to last unit in which it has been processed*" after Hungarian

Turcologist Fekete in the form of two main groups like Pre-Tanzimat Central Documents (*Tanzimat Öncesi Merkez Evrakı*) and Post-Tanzimat Ministerial Period Documents (*Tanzimat Sonrası Nezaretler Dönemi Evrakı*).

Pre-Tanzimat classical period documents is divided into two main groups like the ones regarding *Bab-ı Asaî* comprised of the Office of Grand Vizier (*sadaret*) and affiliated offices during the transfer from Imperial Council (*Divan-ı Hümayun*) to Paşakapısı and the ones related to *Bab-ı Defteri* comprised of all the financial administration offices also called *Defterdar Kapısı*. There are thousands of documents and registers classified under the fund codes given as based on the related offices. On the other hand, Land Registers (*Defterhane Defterleri*) is divided into two series like Tax Registers (*Tahrir*) and Day Books (*Ruznamçe*).

The above offices have been reorganized just before the declaration of Tanzimat Edict (*Tanzimat Fermanı*) in 1839 within the structures like Ministries of Foundations (*Evkaf*), Foreign Affairs (*Hariciye*), Finance (*Maliye*), Internal Affairs (*Dahiliye*). Archives of the Office of Grand Vizier (*Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası*) have become the core of our archives today. Transfer of the documents also from other ministries by the time has created one of world's largest state archives with its length of around 80 kilometers.

Thus, in this historical progress, we are committing ourselves to act in the same way like the ones in the past did and carry them to the future generations as the servants of the archives for which many lives have been spent out.

There is book published by the Directorate of Ottoman Archives in 1992 about the Ottoman Archives regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina.³ We can introduce these sources according to the classification funds open to research studies. We will first review the register series.

I- IMPERIAL COUNCIL (*DİVAN-I HUMAYUN*) REGISTERS

Registers of Important Events (*Mühimme Defterleri*)

They are the registers where the resolutions made during the Imperial Council (*Divan*) meetings regarding all the subjects, either internal or external, discussed and recorded. There are 419 registers of important events during the period 1553-1915 of which 265 are from the main series. Some of them were called Registers of Army Events (*Ordu Mühimmesi*) as they have been recorded during expeditions of the Army while the registers kept by kaimmakam (*sadaret kaymakamı*) left in Istanbul were called *Rikab Mühimmesi*. Records of resolutions on these registers were being made in the form of firmans (*fermanlar*) or certificates (*beratlar*) and delivered to the related persons. Resolutions on Bosnia-

³ Archive Documents on Bosnia-Herzegovina (1516-1919), Publication by the Directorate of Ottoman Archives, publication no. 7, Ankara

Herzegovina were contained almost all of them. For example, resolution number 1513 written on the Important Register No. III was an order sent to Malkoç Bey of Bosnia on “*the preparedness against the expedition of King of Nemçe who is around Drava River and attack on the citadel of Kostaniçe according to the information received from secret sources*”.

Complaint (Şikayet) and Fiscal (Ahkam) Registers

The system of recording personal issues on the Important Event (*Mühimme*) Registers have been left after 1649 and such records have been kept in the Complaint (*Şikayet*) Registers from that point onwards. These registers have been used together with the Fiscal (*Ahkam*) Registers from 1742 until the *Tanzimat* period. There are 9 books among these Fiscal Registers of Bosnian series covering the period between the years 1742-1867. They include resolutions on *Sandjaks* (primary administrative units) like Banaluka, Bihke, Hersek, İzvornik and Travnik as well as all the districts the districts of the region.

Bond Registers (Tahvil Defterleri)

They are the registers including the records about major assignments made by the central authority as well as the unoccupied *timars* and *zeamets* bestowed. There are many records on the properties bestowed around the province of Bosnia. For example, the book number 28 belonging to the Bond Registers of the Imperial Council is an escheated timar register (*mahlul timar defteri*) including the records within the years 1769-1831 belonging to the *sandjaks* Bosna, Hersek, İzvornik and Kilis.

II. IMPERIAL COUNCIL (DİVAN-I HUMAYUN) REGISTERS KEPT IN LAND REGISTERS (DEFTERHANE)

1- Tax Registers (Tahrir Defterleri)

The first thing to do in a newly conquered region was to determine its number of households and amounts of revenues for the purpose of including it in the *timar* system. There were Survey Registers (*Mufassal Defterler*) where the agricultural productions, names and social positions of the adults in households as well as the possessions of the locations like grasslands, pastures and winter-quarters were recorded in detail besides Inventory Registers (*İcmal Defterleri*) incorporating the names of provinces, districts and villages as well as their populations and revenues according to the administrative organizations. There are 1100 registers arranged in the period of Murad II kept in the *Tax Registers Fund*. 36 of them belongs to Bosnia while 20 and 11 are related to Herzegovina and İzvornik respectively.

2- Daybooks Registers (Ruznamçe Defterleri)

There are many records about Bosnia in 2231 registers including the copies of memoranda (*tezkiye*) given by Land Register (*Defterhane*) for the purpose of distributing the required certificates (*berats*) to the persons entitled to *timar*.

III. REGISTERS OF BAB-I DEFTERİ

We are just telling in this section that there are uncountable number of registers about Bosnia like the ones kept by the treasuries (*hazineler*), tax-collectors (*mufassıls*), farming out (*mukataa*), and confiscation (*muhallefet*) at the Office of Head Accountant (*Başmuhasebe*) as well as the registers of *Evamir-i Maliye*, *Defterdar Mektubi Kalemi*, etc. For example, there are 23 registers only in the Bosnian Treasury Registers covering the period between the years 1632-1827 within the the Office of Head Accountant.

IV. REGISTERS IN THE ARCHIVES OF OFFICE OF GRAND VIZIER (BAB-I ALİ EVRAK ODASI)

1- Inventory Registers (Ayniyat Defterleri)

They are the registers where the copies of communications (*tahrirs* and *tezkiyes*) sent by the Office of Grand Vizier to other state offices and provinces have been recorded. Total number of such registers covering the period of 1812-1903 is 1717. Registers numbered 853-857 are the ones related to Bosnia during the period 1866-1877.

2- Registers of Incoming-Outgoing Documents related to Provinces

They are the registers incorporating the communications of the Office of Grand Vizier (*Sadaret*) with various provinces. There are 1608 of such registers covering the period between the years 1849-1922. Number of books regarding Bosnia is 8 with the numbers 467-474 while there are 2 books on Herzegovina numbered as 493 and 494.

V. REGISTER SERIES IN OTHER FUNDS

1- Registers Transferred from Ministry of Finance (Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler)

It is the classification of around 26,000 documents transferred to the archive in 1945. Nearly 1,000 documents taking place in this fund that includes almost all types documents mentioned above are about the Province of Bosnia. For example, the register numbered 359 is the Tax Register of Bosnia (*Bosna Tahrir Defteri*).

2- Kepeci's Classification

Many of the 6,698 registers taking place in this fund classified by a commission headed by Kamil Kepeci are the ones belonging to *Divan-ı Humayun* and *Bab-ı Defteriye* which are related to the Province of Bosnia. For example, the register numbered 281 is a survey register (*mufassal has-timar defteri*) related to the *sandjak* of İzvornik while the register numbered 282 is the *Timar* Register of Sarajevo regarding the year 1530.

3- Curriculum Vitae Registers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Dahiliye Nezareti Sicill-i Ahval Defterleri)

The efforts on determining the registers of the officers employed in the civil and judicial institutions started with the establishment of Curriculum Vitae Commission in 1879 have been continued by the units replacing this organization. Registers of about 75,000 officers have been recorded on 201 big-size registration books within the time period until 1909. These registers include exact information on the subjects like names and fathers' names, family names (in case of belonging to a well-known family) and the ranks acquired as well as their education, competence and merit levels while also including information on the assignments, dismissals and legal issues. It has been observed that number of officers related to the Province of Bosnia with respect to their births or assignments occupy a considerably important part of the documents. These funds have been reflected to the Internet in recent years in the form of catalogues. The searches made in these documents have shown that Bosnia, Sarajevo, Mostar, Travnik and İzvornik are taking place in 195, 36, 9, 18 and 3 articles respectively.

4- Foundation Registers (Evkaf Defterleri)

During the classic period, no state budget funds have been allocated for the construction and repair activities except for the military buildings and roads. All those excellent monuments like mosques, *madrasahs*, inns (*hans*), *caravansarays*, libraries and fountains have been built only with the contributions of the Ottoman sultans, statesmen and persons from the civil population. The driving power in this was the *sadaka-i cariyeye* belief meaning that *a person's book of performance will not be closed after death* and people have transferred their properties to foundations for beneficiary purposes to provide the *good deeds to be recorded on their books after their deaths*. A magnificent foundation civilization and a strong registration system have been established in this way to protect such properties. Detailed records of all such foundations in Bosnia-Herzegovina region continue to exist among our foundation registers of about 40,000 volumes in our archive.

Although there are register series also in other funds besides the aforementioned ones, we will stay here not to force the limits of this article. Let us have a look now into the document series existing in our archive;

I. CLASSIFICATION OF HATT-I HUMAYUN REGISTERS

It is one of the first classifications after the establishment of the Treasury of Records (*Hazine-i Evrak*) building. Papers used by the Sultans in writing down their orders by hand were called Imperial Record on White (*Beyaz Üzerine Hatt-ı Hümayun*). Grand Viziers had their orders be written down on papers called the summarized state reports called *telhis*. Sultans were putting their comments down on these documents by hand and they were performed afterwards. These documents have been classified in 1880s as they have also spiritual value besides their legal importance. As examples of this fund comprising of 94,000 articles, we can mention the documents numbered 5037, 7226, 7226-A, 7226-B, 7262, 7352 and 12004 reflecting the sensation and doubt in the public opinion and administration caused by a balloon dropping down from the sky.

II. CLASSIFIED DECREES (İRADELER TASNİFİ)

The tradition of hand-written imperial orders has been gradually abandoned after *Tanzimat*. From that point onwards, the imperial orders have been issued by the Sultan verbally to the General Secretary of the Office of State (Mabeyn Başkatibi) and they have been written down under memoranda (*tezkiye*) on an ex officio basis. This fund incorporating around 500,000 articles is among the richest funds related to Bosnia. For example, the imperial order that has been classified as *Meclis-i Mahsus 22956* is related to the assignment of an engineer for the protection of the forests in Bosna.

III. CEVDET'S CLASSIFICATION

It is the classification of the documents established in 1932 by the classification committee headed by Muallim Cevdet İNANÇALP. This fund incorporating 216,000 documents about the period 1553-1904 has been classified on the basis of the subjects.

Document numbered as 6787 is about “the celebrations and invocations after the birth of Sultan Mustafa in Sarajevo (Saraybosna) in Tuesday evening at eight thirty on twenty sixth day of the month Sha’ban in the Gregorian year of 1779 (or 1193 according to the Islamic Hijri calendar)”.

IV. DOCUMENTS IN YILDIZ PALACE

It is the fund comprising of registers, documents and newspapers accumulated by Abdülhamid II during the period 1876-1909 at Yıldız Castle. All the stages of struggles between Ottoman State and Austria on Bosnia-Herzegovina may be observed in this fund having various sections. Phases regarding the investigations of the inspection committee headed by Ahmed Cevdet Pasha in Bosnia may also be followed up in this way.

Just at this time, I would like to mention another subject here at this stage. As known, Ahmed Cevdet Pasha has cited his original observations and information in his book named *Tezakir* regarding his office of inspector in Bosnia. This book has been published after the studies made by Prof. Dr. Cavit BAYSUN on the rough copies existing in Taksim Atatürk Library.⁴ Original copies of *Tezakir* hand-written by Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and delivered to Vakanüvis Lütü Efendi have been found among the newly found documents in our archive. Thus, our archive has gained one of the most original documents about Bosnia-Herzegovina in this way. It will be classified at the shortest possible time and be presented to the service of researchers soon.

We have tried to introduce the documents existing in some funds by the sampling method throughout this short article. It is actually clear that our archive is a rich source of documents on Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some of catalogues transferred to the Internet environment since April 2002 may be reviewed at our website, www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr. It is possible to reach 8826, 3569, 602, 510 and 395 articles by using the search strings Bosna (*Bosnia*), Hersek (*Herzegovina*), Saraybosna (*Sarajevo*), Mostar and Boşnak (*Bosnian*).

⁴ Tezâkir, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, publisher, Prof. Cavid BAYSUN, III. Edition, Ankara 1991.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE OTTOMAN RULE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Enes Pelidija*

The centuries-old Ottoman rule over the areas of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina has had a prominent influence on many social streams and has left numerous traces in many spheres of life. However, this subject has not been much discussed in historiography. Among the first persons who wrote about it was Branislav Đurđev, an academic.¹ A bit later, academic Nedom Filipović in his work "*Pogled na osmanski feudalizam (sa naročitim obzirom na agrarne odnose)*" [A View on the Ottoman Feudalism (with Particular Attention to the Agrarian Relations)] will write about Ottoman grooming system and its impact on urban and rural population of Bosnia in the 16th and 17th century.² Avdo Sućeska, an academic, introduced us to the specific qualities of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Ottoman period. He wrote about the place and the role of the Bosniaks in Bosnia from the establishment of the Sultan's rule (in 1463) to the arrival of Austria-Hungary (in 1878).³ Many other historians wrote implicitly about this subject in their works on Bosnian Eyalet.⁴

As early as the first years of the Sultan's rule over the areas of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the neighboring countries, who for a shorter or longer time were parts of Bosnian Eyalet (1580-1878), great changes took place in the whole social structure. Instead of medieval feudal society, Ottoman state introduced the new grooming system, which affected also many segments of the entire society. This has been especially important in the denominational structure of the native population.

During the occupation of the Bosnian Kingdom (1463), the new Ottoman authorities found the native population of the Catholic and Orthodox Church, as well as the smaller number of remaining members of the Bosnian Church, who by the middle of the 15th century were predominant in relation with other religious communities. Nevertheless, in the next few decades, it was recorded in the Ottoman defters, that one part of the population started accepting Islam. As the time passed, the process of converting into the new religion was spreading increasingly. Nedom Filipović wrote about it.⁵ A scientific meeting was held on this

* Prof. Dr., University of Sarajevo

1 Branislav Đurđev, O uticaju turske vladavine na razvitak naših naroda, Godišnjak Istoriskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine, II year, Sarajevo 1950, pp. 19-82

2 Godišnjak Istoriskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine, IV year, Sarajevo 1952, pp. 7-146

3 Avdo Sućeska, Bošnjaci u osmanskoj državi, Biblioteka: Arabeska 4., Sarajevo 1995, p. 55

4 see more about the subject in the Bibliographic works on Bosnia and Herzegovina

5 Nedom Filipović, Napomene o isalmizaciji u Bosni i Hercegovini u XV vijeku, Godišnjak ANU BiH, VII, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja 5, Sarajevo 1970, pp. 141-167; the same, Uticaj islama na bosanskohercegovačko tlo, Radio Sarajevo – The Third

subject, titled "*Širenje islama i islamske kulture u bosanskom ejaletu*" [The Expansion of Islam and Islamic Culture in the Bosnian Eyalet]. The numerous eminent scientists published their papers in the special edition of *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju iz Sarajeva* [The Contributions to the Oriental Philology from Sarajevo].⁶ The papers claim, while referring to the Ottoman listed defters, that there were individual converts of natives to Islam even up until 1463. After the medieval Bosnian State collapsed, the process of the expansion of Islam was more present, especially in the urban environments and in those areas which were traditionally the centers of followers of the Bosnian Church. During that time, people of all social categories started converting to Islam.⁷ The acceptance of the new religion, which came with the Ottomans, went gradually, but greater number of converts to Islam was recorded as late as the middle of the 16th century. In the following decades, the members of this religion were predominant in relation with non-Muslims. We also see this from the register of the Bosnian Sandžak in 1604. In this most populated and most significant sandžak of the Bosnian Eyalet lived 72, 5% of Muslim, and 27, 5% of non-Muslim population.⁸ The similar situation was in the other sandžaks. Similar percents of Muslim and non-Muslim population are numbered in the register of the Herzegovina Sandžak in 1585.⁹ This condition of absolute ascendancy of Bosniaks of Islamic religion over the non-Muslims was preserved up until the 18th century.

However, besides the numerous external and internal happenings during the 19th and 20th century, the Muslim population was in absolute or relative majority until the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina started (1992).

The acceptance of Islam by the native population was followed by other important developments. With time, new numerous urban settlements were formed in the area of the Bosnian Eyalet, as well as in other places where the sultan established his rule. According to the unwritten rule, the existing cities and especially the new ones gained the Oriental-Islamic appearance. They do not differ almost at all, in that aspect, from other cities on the territory of the European part of the Ottoman Empire. Especially were prominent in their size and significance the residences of beylerbeys and sandžakbeys. Such were Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Travnik, Novi Pazar in the Bosnian Sandžak, Mostar and Taslidža (Pljevlja) in the Herzegovina Sandžak, and Livno in the Kliško Sandžak. We could join Foča to these cities, which was for a while a residence of the Herzegovina sancakbeys, and

Programme, Sarajevo 1975, pp. 65-84; the same, O jednom aspektu korelacije između islamizacije i čišćenja, *Prilozi Instituta za istoriju*, XVII year, no. 18, Sarajevo 1981, pp. 25-45; the same, Islamizacija Vlahu u Bosni i Hercegovini u XV i XVI vijeku, *Radovi ANU BiH LXXIII*, 22, Sarajevo 1983, pp. 139-148

6 *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, no. 41, Sarajevo 1991, p. 450

7 Ibidem, Nenad Filipović, Islamizacija Bosne u prva dva desetljeća osmanske vlasti, pp. 53-65

8 Opširni popis bosanskog sandžaka iz 1604. godine, sv. I/1, Sarajevo 2000, p. XXXVII

9 Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Opširni defter hercegovačkog sandžaka (iz 1585. godine), no. VIII, no. 44/II (M.D.

Ahmed S. Aličić translated it to the Bosnian language and it is in the manuscript)

Zvornik, the official residence of the same sandžak. These cities were known, even before the arrival of the Ottomans, as smaller medieval Christian settlements.¹⁰

One part of the new urban settlements was called by Ottoman-Turkish name. Among them are: Čitluk, Čelebi Pazar Ćoralići, Derventa, Donji Vakuf, Gornji Vakuf, Hadžići, Ilidža, Kulen Vakuf, Novi Šeher, Odžak, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Varcar Vakuf, Yeni Pazar, Taslidža, and many others. With time, some of them changed their names in today's names like Varcar Vakuf to Mrkonjić Grad, Čelebi Pazar to Rogatica, Yeni Pazar to Novi Pazar, Taslidža to Pljevlja. Exactly these names witness that today's Bosnian cities developed, in their greater part, during the time of the Ottoman rule.

With time, many sacral and profane objects were built in these cities as well as in other places. Many of them represent cultural and historical value of the world's heritage. This is especially the case with the structures constructed during the 16th century of Mimar Sinan's time when the Classical Ottoman style domineered. The most well-known mosques were built in this style. Among them, the most prominent by their architectural, cultural and historical value are: *Čekrekčija* in Sarajevo (1526), *Jeni – džamija* in Travnik (1549), *Aladža* in Foča (1550), *Karadžobey* in Mostar (1557), *Jusuf-paša* in Maglaj (1560), *Ali-paša* in Sarajevo (1561), *Ferhad-bey* in Sarajevo (1562), *Hadži-Alija* in Počitelj (1563), *Careva* in Sarajevo (1565), *Sinan-bey* in Čajnice (1570), *Husein-paša* in Pljevlje (1590), *Defterdarija* in Banja Luka (1594) and *Koski Mehmed-paša* in Mostar (1612). In their size and significance, and in relation with the mentioned ones, these mosques are specific by their cupolas and semi-cupolas above the praying space: *Gazi Husrev-bey* mosque in Sarajevo (1530) and *Ferhad-paša* in Banja Luka (1583).¹¹ Unfortunately, during the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), mosques in Foča, Počitelj, Čajniče and Banja Luka were destroyed. Many others were devastated, and were reconstructed in the post-war period. In Počitelj, in the place of the old, destroyed one, a new mosque was built.

As a rule, by the bigger mosques *turbes* (mausoleums) were built as memorials for remarkable persons, which also have a cultural and historical value on their own. Among these are: *Gazi Husrev-bey* and *Murat-bey Tardić* in the yard (*harem*) of *Gazi Husrev-bey* mosque in Sarajevo, while the aggressors destroyed *Sinan-bey's* in Čajniče (1992) and *Ferhad-bey's* in Banja Luka (1993).

Remarkable cultural and historical monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Ottoman period are *bezistans* covered with a cupola and *hamams*. *Brusa bezistan* in Sarajevo (1551) stands out by its appearance and significance. "The plan of this bezistan has six areas covered with cupolas, and the shops are leaned against the side-walls, which although they have entrance only from the street, are

¹⁰ Adem Handžić, O gradskom stanovništvu u Bosni u XVI stoljeću, Studije o Bosni, historijski prilozi iz osmansko-turskog perioda, Isanbul 1994, 162

¹¹ Husref Redžić, Studije o islamskoj arhitektonskoj baštini, Sarajevo 1983, 122-124 (further: H. Redžić, Studije)

a structural part of this building."¹² The greatest *vakif* of Sarajevo, the Bosnian *sandžakbey*, Gazi Husrev-bey (who governed Sarajevo with shorter interruptions, between 1521 and 1541) had a *hamam* built (1555) with his own resources.

"It is a monumental structure, with part for men and women, one of the most valuable architectural compositions under a cupola, of a Classical style." *Medresa* (1537) was built in the same style somewhat earlier, and today, it is known as *Gazi Husrev-bey medresa*.¹³ *Gazi Husrev-bey bezistan* (1540) was also built in the Classical Ottoman style which has been preserved till today, as well as the *karavan-saraj*, better known by the name of *Morića han*.¹⁴

During the centuries-long Ottoman rule, many bridges were erected on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some of them are listed at the very top of, not only, the Ottoman cultural heritage, but also among the structures of the world's heritage. The greatest Ottoman architect, Mimar Sinan designed the monumental bridge over Drina near Višegrad (1577) to the order of the Grand Vizier Mehmed-paša Sokolović.¹⁵

A bit earlier, Mimar Sinan's student, *mimar* Hajrudin designed the stone bridge over Neretva in Mostar (1566)¹⁶ which was destroyed in 1993 and reconstructed in 2004. in its primary appearance. A relatively great number of stone bridges from this time have been preserved. *Kozja ćuprija* over Miljacka near Sarajevo, the stone bridge over Žepa, *Arslanagića* bridge near Trebinje as well as others, which stand out by their beauty and cultural and historical values.¹⁷ The Ottoman influence has been especially felt in the business part of some Bosnian cities. The best examples for this are Sarajevo and Mostar. In their old cores, numerous trading and artisan shops are to be found. *Baščaršija*, a very significant cultural and historical monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina, stands out by its appearance and authenticity.

The influence of the four-century-old Ottoman rule is also present in the architecture. It has been especially manifested in the positive attitude towards the nature. All of the architectural objects, following the rule, fit in the greenness of the landscape. The residential and other objects are exposed to the sun. The running water was not used only for the practical needs but also for the entertainment.

Thus as a rule, with no exceptions, every house in the city had a yard with fruit, vegetables, flowers and other plants. The yard in front of the house (*avlija*), paved with pebbles was also planted with flowers and vine which entwined the house very often. *Kamarija* was the part of *divanhana*, a hall on the floor, with a

¹² Ibidem, 134

¹³ Ibidem, 134-137

¹⁴ Ibidem, 137

¹⁵ Džemal Čelić, Mehmed Mujezinović, Stari mostovi u Bosni i Hercegovini, 2nd edition, Sarajevo 1998, 175-195

¹⁶ Ibidem, 231-246

¹⁷ H. Redžić, Studije, 143

view on the yard. The windows were covered with *mušebci* (wooden lattices). As a rule, the residential buildings were multiple-storied buildings. People took care that, a house or some other object was not blocking the view. Because of that, the houses built on higher levels or steep areas surpassed harmoniously each other, while, in plains, enough space was left for the other households.¹⁸

Some of the houses of this appearance have been preserved until today. Among them, the best known is *Svrzo's* house in Sarajevo, *Bišćević Corner* in Mostar, as well as many houses of a smaller size in many places of the central Bosnia, but with great historical value.

In relation to the earlier period, a number of trades and artisans has considerably declined. However, even until today in the mentioned, but also in other places a relatively great number of trades, which came in these areas with Ottomans, has been preserved. Coppersmiths and tinsmiths are among those. Oriental-Islamic motives are imbued in the objects, which represent real works of art. They were traditionally famous not only on the territory of other provinces (eyalets) of the Ottoman Empire, but also in numerous European countries. The true masters in the production of specific objects or in the interior decoration of structures were artisans working with wood. They are more recognized under the name "woodworkers". This kind of craft has been preserved even until today, and its most famous masters are working today in Konjic.¹⁹

From this period of Bosnia and Herzegovina's history, the rich cultural and literal heritage has played an important part. Native people who were more educated started writing their scientific and artistic works in Oriental languages (Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and Persian). The number of these creators reached hundreds in time. The Orientalists and historians of the Ottoman period of Bosnia and Herzegovina wrote about them and their works. Among them are Safvet-beg Bašagić²⁰, Mehmed Handžić²¹, Dr. Hazim Šabanović²², Dr. Fehim Nametak²³, Amir Ljubović-Sulejman Grozdanić²⁴, Amir Ljubović²⁵, Lamija Hadžiosmanović²⁶, Salih Trako²⁷, as well as many others.

18 Dr Muhamed Hadžijahić, Mahmud Traljić i mr Nijaz Šukrić, *Islam i muslimani u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo 1977, 62-63

19 Ibidem, 65; more about this in the book by Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Esnafi i obrti u Bosni i Hercegovini (1463-1878)*, Izabrana djela, II book, Sarajevo 1991, 7-733

20 Dr Safvet-beg Bašagić, *Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti*, Sarajevo 1986, p. 322

21 Mehmed Handžić, *Teme iz književne historije*, Sarajevo 1999, p. 795

22 Dr Hazim Šabanović, *Književnost bh muslimana na orijentalnim jezicima*, Sarajevo, p 726

23 Fehim Nametak, *Divanska književnost Bošnjaka*, Sarajevo 1997, p. 200

24 Amir Ljubović, Sulejman Grozdanić, *Prozna književnost Bosne i Hercegovine na orijentalnim jezicima*, Sarajevo 1995, p. 279

25 Amir Ljubović, *Logička djela Bošnjaka na arapskom jeziku*, Sarajevo 1996, p. 249

26 Lamija Hadžiosmanović, *Djelo jedne epohe. Još su neispitani mnogi radovi naših ljudi koji su stvarali na orijentalnim jezicima*, *Odjek*, XXVIII/1975, Sarajevo 1975, pp. 13-14, 21

27 Salih Trako, *Prvi prijevod Šejh Sadijeva Đulistana na srpskohrvatski*, *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, XXII-XXIII/1976, Sarajevo 1976, pp. 369-381

Together with this, numerous Oriental words became a structural part of the Bosnian language and in the everyday conversation of the native population. Some of them did not change their original shape, even today. In time, their number increased to over than a thousand words. An orientalist, Abdulah Škaljić points this out. He mentions in his book *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* [Turkisms in the Serb Croatian Language] 8742 words (expressions), together with 6 878 different notions.²⁸ This vast richness of words has remained in a great number until today. Besides this, during the complete Ottoman period in everyday communication, the people of the Bosnian Eyalet spoke in their native – Bosnian language. Only the official administration used the Ottoman Turkish language.

The Ottoman influence would have been much greater if the two major factors did not prevail: a) the consciousness of their own particularity in relation with other nations who were under the sultan's rule and b) the relatively tolerant attitude of the Ottoman government representatives towards the native population.

Because of that, the Bosniaks, as well as other nations from the areas in the South-Eastern Europe, have partly kept the Ottoman legacy even until today. It becomes the part of their recognizability and specialty. At the same time, that legacy connects them with many areas and nations who were parts of the Ottoman Empire.

These short observations tell us about the need for further studies on the Ottoman influence in these areas that would be more comprehensive and thorough, while pointing out the fact of its actual presence.

²⁸ Abdulah Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku*, Sarajevo 1989, p. 662

OTTOMAN TRADITION IN MODERN BOSNIAN AND HERZEGOVINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Ramiza Smajić*

In elaboration of Ottoman period of Bosnian and Herzegovinian history most of the problems are on terminological field and some authors' attitudes towards key processes which were happening during five centuries of Ottoman Bosnian's history. By this presentation we would like to stimulate for more efforts on field of terminological differentiation, for as much as without adequate naming of terms which are the subject of research interest in elaboration of Ottoman period of Bosnian and Herzegovinian history there is no final cognition of them.

When it is about Ottoman period of B&H history, definitely the most present terminological problem is anachronism of *Turkish* and *Ottoman* adjectives. If not used in terminological way these two adjectives could be understood as synonyms if used in spoken language, but no way in scientific alley, especially not in educational alley. Although there were scientists who earlier took care of semantic distinction¹, some of whom pointed out this occurrence², today only some authors hold onto precise naming, while those similar terminological inaccuracies became unnoticed and even legitimate firstly thanks to media. If we take some units published in last decade, original Bosnian and foreign but directly having to do with Bosnia, we get the impression that the reason for all present historical anachronisms is double: it is about authors who we dare to say have mindless affinity to that quite light practice or it is either about those who by particular use of wrong terms tend to reach appointed goals. Thus we pick out the practice of translation as a special case.

In sources of Ottoman proveniences Ottoman sultanate is most frequently called "Devlet-i Âliyye-i Osmaniyye", which means Glorious Ottoman State, universal theocratic Islamic state whom all followers of Ottoman Sultan, Turkish, Bosnian, Albanian or others, found as their state. Naming that state "Turkish" we underline its *national* and negate its *universal* character. It is another issue that the modern Turkish historians will rather use for e.g. expression "Osmanlı Türkçesi" (Ottoman Turkish), rather than "Ottoman", which is the result of inclinations in their national emancipation.

At a certain moment, terminology can be so neglected that to even respected linguist Ekrem Čaušević who knows the issue of inadequate

* History Institute, Sarajevo

1 One of them is Alija Bejtić, who among other peaces has one titled Spomenici osmanlijske arhitekture u BiH, Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju i istoriju jugoslovenskih naroda pod turskom vladavinom, III-IV, 1952-53, Sarajevo 1953.

2 Nenad Filipović, Osmanska Bosna i Osmansko Carstvo in the book "Stvaranje Jugoslavije 1790-1918" of Milorad Ekmečić", Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju 40/1990, Sarajevo 1991, pgs. 433-457

equalization of old turkish and Ottoman language very well and consistently appeals to it, happened that the same conference paper presented during two meetings which had five months between has been done differently, so in the first one he says that: «Generally it is known that conquests of Hungary by Turks...», but in the second one: «Generally it is known that conquests of Hungary by Ottomans...»³.

Of course, historical anachronism is also present at authors who deal with other periods. In the first meet with various terminological solutions in Robert J. Donie's writing, we would doubt that the translator in the aspect of professional terms transgressed the soul and letter of the original one, but that demolishes nonchalant objection of the author himself: «I avoided the term «Austro-Hungary». In the book I use the word «Austria» instead of «Habsburg Monarchy».⁴ This is an example of conscious hystorical anachronism which is justified from general view of understanding to a large number of western scientist. On the other side, Jozef Matuz's *Ottoman Kingdom* also tends to that general understanding, but the reader easily gets to know the original terminological forms. Although, it happens to him to make careless mistakes such as: «When Turkish expansion was at climax southslavenian states under Ottoman dispensation were divided...»⁵ (pointed by R.S.)

Of course that language endures synonyms, but, terminology is a sensitive field for them and in it synonyms usually are not synonyms. Terminological diversities can be of phonetical, morphological or lexical nature. This time we will not hold onto this division, but pay attention to the use of correct meaning. When it is about real adequations it is possible to determine completely freely and individually for the certain term. But, is it the same to use construction *Bosnian pasaluk* or *Bosnian ejalet*? Of course not. Lets just Pasaluk of Beograd which had never pasaluk, but a part of Sandzak of Smederevo. How to equalize it with ejalet then, beglerbegluk, on the top of which was pasa with three tugs or vizir who under him had Sandzak beys? Hazim Šabanović named his great study in 1959 *Bosnian pasaluk*, but younger generations as Ahmet Aličić, Enes Pelidija etc. have noticed the importance of adequate naming in modern knowledge discourse and applied that in their monographies: *Regulaltion of Bosnian Ejalet from 1789 until 1878*, *Bosnian Ejalet from Karlovac to Pozarevac's peace*,...Also meeting held in 1991 was named *Spread of Islam and islamic culture in Bosnian ejalet*. Problems with naming administrative-directive units, and military ones too, are of various characters. It is known that *varoš* is a hungarian word which originally means suburb of town, castle and generally open town quarter. *Varoš* in Ottoman sources

3 With reference to presentations submitted in two meetings: Znanstveni skup Matija Antun Relković i Slavonija 18. stoljeća (Zagreb – Vinkovci – Davor, 24. – 25.04.1998.) and Internationaler Kongress für türkische Studien – 13. CIEPO – Symposium (Vienna, 21. – 24.09.1998.). Both are unified and published as one enlarged text in Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju, 47-48/1997-98, pgs. 67-84

4 Robert Donia, *Islam pod dvoglavim orlom: Muslimani BiH 1878-1914*, Zagreb – Sarajevo, 2000, pg. 13

5 Josef Matuz, *Osmansko Carstvo*, Zagreb 1992, pg. 476

implicates «town type quarter which is completely or mostly inhabited by christians».⁶

Everyone whom at least comparatively interested practice of recruitment in some military systems knows that between terms *devširma* and *danak u krvi* exists semantic distinction. Today Olga Zirojević gives us ingrained interpretation: “Devširma is danak u krvi, gathering of healthy christian children for janissary corpus”.⁷ Devširma really is selection of capable children for *janissaries*, but also for high palace service, usually christian, but also muslim children in the case of Bosnia and Kurdistan.

Regulator of some source not rarely finds himself in dilemma if high funktion of *džašnegir* (person who will taste the food prior to Sultan) can find its adequation in *taster*? Real adequations are very rare also in unavoidable use of words as are *čarapa*, *top*, *duhan*, restrain in usage of Ottoman terms and words in original form is misunderstandable. Even if it would come to discuss about justification of usage of term “donation“ for timar in the writing of Josef Matuz, N. Moačanin, translator of *Ottoman Kingdom*, gives a good example for the word *çorbaci* which translates by turcism *čorbadžija*, and related to this says: «Author's german adequation is untranslatable (suppenmeister), because the translation would be artificial and too long, or completely partial, e.g. «master of soup» (besides, soup is not pottage!).»⁸ With this explanation there is no place for language purism. In any case we have to keep in mind that 19th century in Croatia remembers the period in which foreign words and expressions were almost unwillingly expelled from literary language and were created many neologisms to replace them. Of course, Croatian language was at that time overfull with germanisms, but it was not endangered only from germanisms but also from German language's imposition, so it can be rather considered as a fight for the folk language right and for self-assurance.⁹

The most often egress to further usage of some term is prosessor's practice, if he will consider more suitable translation or original name. That the language is living matter can be seen from sources which are published in translation, completely or partially in last ten years. It is obvious for example flow of term *gebran* from «atheists» to «nonmuslims», as such frenzy practice of keeping source names.¹⁰

However, it is obvious there is still no consequence of that practice, so it happens that in the text are quoted unknown concepts to nonottomans, in footnote, of course, are brought their meanings, but in further text come translation and source terms in combination, even in brackets. Processors, respectively translators

6 Behija Zlatar, Zlatno doba Sarajeva, Sarajevo 1996, pg.

7 Olga Zirojević, Srbija pod turskom vlašću (1459-1804), Novi Pazar 1995, pg. 174

8 Nenad Moačanin, Translator's word in: Josef Matuz, Osmansko Carstvo, Zagreb 1992, pg. 220

9 Look for it: Ljudevit Jonke, Književni jezik u teoriji i praksi, Zagreb, 1964.

10 Wide register of Bosnian Sanjak in 1604., Monumenta Turcica..., Sarajevo 2000.

could confirm that even 90 % of terms on field of osmanology are not confirmed double forms.

Terminology is not just a problem, but a big nodosity in which intersect many questions from those which come from insufficient cognition of appointed concepts by professional historians to the problem of large politician's presence in science to which term manipulation is a method and tool for demonstration. Today terminology depends on most different viewpoint, sometimes on very skillful ones, sometimes objective, and sometimes completely subjective, particularistic, chauvinistic, even on dilettante ones.

We would not want to step in unproductive intellectual and hastily argue who is and who is not right. Unfortunately, terminological inexactness are mostly present in one circle of serbian historians who deal with Ottoman period. Most of them are limited by their own obstruction of stereotypes about their people and christian-islamic confrontation throughout many centuries. In confrontation with those there is no fright from even extreme vulgarism and all this make unhealthy feeling that we lost our idea of essence of historiography itself.¹¹

The most often motive for pour of so called scientific theories are controversies on field of historical demography. There also appears a problem of inadequate naming, a lot more serious than that of usage of *Ottoman and Turkish Kingdom*. It is especially when questioned origine and existence of some people on particular place, which will for long be field of most precised and most incoherent viewpoints. Key disagreement are still about terms in sphere of national.

M. Ekmečić, a man with complete conscience about importance of terminological plan in science discourse, will always speak about «Serbian presence in Bosnia», «Serbians in Bosnia», but «Bosnian Serbs» or even «Bosnian orthodoxes» never. This author's depression because it is being «striked on continuity of Serbian presence in Bosnia since early Slovenian inflow» is incoherent.¹² «Turkish» archival material which he thinks is necessary to Serbian people brings complete opposite truths. In building of Ottoman provenience which has to do with Bosnia, names Serbs and Croats indicate units which came from Serbian, respectively Croatian territory differently from domestic christian (othodox and catholic) population.¹³

11 In Sarajevo is from 5 to 8th April 2001 held SEMINAR ON HISTORY CURRICULA AND TEXTBOOK IN B&H. During the debate it was obvious that it is necessary to work more on showing a good will to hear a different opinion and arguments in not only professional and knowledgeable, but also in human atmosphere.

12 Work collection from International scientific meeting held from 13 until 15th December 1994 in Belgrade named *Bosna i Hercegovina od srednjeg veka do novijeg vremena*, Belgrade 1995, pg. 15

13 Only some facts: In notebook of year 1468. among timars is also a timar of one Serbian, a man who came from Serbian areas: TD 0-76, OIS nr. 216. The same case is with Croatian: Bosnian Army's registration before the battle on Mohach 1526. 263 men have following remark "Croatian", compared to Bosnians registered with them who have written next to their names "Bosnia". For more details see in: A. Aličić, *Popis bosanske vojske pred bitku na Mohaču*, POF sv. XXV/1975, Sarajevo 1977.

Vlachian groups whom movements are carefully noted down in notebooks are still being brought up when “continuities“ want to be resurrected, but they hesitate in themes which reveal too much present mix of blood at Vlachs.

Presence and essence of names “Bošnjak” and “Bosnian language” deserve more detailed elaboration. We will allow ourselves only the ascertainment that in the segments, in which were interested some modern authors, only their own attitude is fortified, which resulted that Bosnian ethnicity and the name *Bošnjak* itself refers to stratum of Bosnian residents which accepted Islam¹⁴, but writings like those of Filip Lastrić from the second half of 18th century, for which he has himself emphasized that they are in Bosnian language, ignore with suspicion meaning of term “bosnian” in that time.¹⁵

Needs for regulation and eventual standardization of our educational-scientific terminology is always activating from the start, however, it most rarely happens in debates which theme is connected to language field. In the meeting about spread of Islam and Islamic culture in Bosnian ejalet in 1991 was an extremely interesting polemic between referent dr. Darko Tanasković and dr. Hilmo Neimarlija about conception of “islamic” and “muslim”.¹⁶

Great differences are present in defining concepts in agriculture. That in one hand is not surprising, knowing that in procession of agrarian relations in last 10 years have been more interested economical, polythological and social scientific disciplines than historiography itself. Besides extremely important accomplishments of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Ottomans – Historians in brightening timar-spahij system, odorous country, hakk-i tesarruf, position of raja, tax etc., agrarian relations are still being defined through chiftlik system. That is one of the reasons why the most frequent mistakes are made in the simplest concepts. Other than the concept chiftlik itself, the concept of raja is in any case among the most frequent ones, for majority «nonottoman conquered population (muslims and christians), a concept which since 19th century refers only to nonmuslim residents».

What a delusion!

Two thirds of raja in first half of 19th century were muslims, but only one third christians. That was a result of simplest identification of chiftchi and rajetin. While rajetin is a freeman who farms its property and gives appointed taxes, chiftchi is similar to bondsman and he is a laborer. He can be the one who pays one third of tax or one half. We underline this also «similar to bondsman», because western authors almost regularly use this expression, although it is not about adequation. Regularity of this access to practice is surprising, if it always stands out in theory that in situation when terms besides general meaning get specific

14 Mustafa Imamović, *Historija Bošnjaka*, Sarajevo

15 Three writings of Filip Lastrić from Očevje, rare collection in Special collections NUBBiH

16 See: Collection Expansion of Islam and Islamic culture in Bosnian ejalet, Oriental institute in Sarajevo,

peculiarity in one time and space, and they correspond to only given time and space, they can not be mechanically used as synonyms of marks in other space.¹⁷

Attention is not paid to essential transformations which certain term undergoes through space and time, and other than that, tolerations of introduction to some basal institutions happen. So Noel Malkolm, author who writes in tone with modern tendencies of historical science, speaks about timar-spahij system, mentions inheritance, not paying any attention to ocakluk-system in Bosnia.¹⁸

Inherited property will at us be defined as a possession on land of miri which can be tilled by one pair of oxen. By this interpretation, maybe the most important thing related to Bosnian inherited property won't be figured out: It is not inheritable nowhere in Rumelia other than in Bosnia and Kurdistan. In every country it is possible to sow on this land, reap and to sell harvest, but inherited property can be sold or left to families only in Bosnia and Kurdistan.¹⁹

In defining essence of some terms in agrarian relations of Ottoman period furthest went dr Aličić, even if we feel obliged to warn about its permanent devotion to historical anachronism, so it often happens to be also used the term *Turkish-Ottoman Turks* in one thematic sequence, all in the same meaning.

More recent works on Ottoman sources bring more light in appearance than already generally accepted facts. Today is, e.g. is concept *filurija* in terms dictionaries most frequently found explained as a *tax which pay Vlachs at random for each house*.²⁰ Filuriji would by analogy be Vlach who pays filurij, which is not the complete meaning of that concept.

Thanks to perfection of Ottoman administration today we know that filuriji can be also a muslim to whom is made that concession, because inheritances under filuriji very often were held by various civil servants-bearer of administrative jurisdiction in sandžaku, spahije, ulema, craftsmen, ...²¹

This is only a segment of our cogitations which we hope will indicate the necessity of terminological division, whilst this problematics doesn't lack of topicality have proved until now many debates about above partly mentioned problems. Of course that some of our information must not be considered a norm but as our attitude and at a certain degree professional opinion. History, especially ours, is still not ready for undertakes as those which presented unified yugoslavian terminological nomenclatures of certain sciences and professions, but we can do that much so that in practice are used terms which bring essential concept's meaning and correspond to our language sense.

17 Look for it in Preface of School dictionary...

18 Noel Malkolm, *Povijest Bosne: kratki pregled*, Zagreb – Sarajevo, 1995.

19 Sadik Albayrak, *Budin Kanunnamesi ve Osmanli Toprak Meselesi*, Istanbul 1973, pg. 236

20 See term index in : A. S. Aličić, *Pokret za autonomiju Bosne od 1831. do 1832. godine*, Sarajevo 1996, pg. 421

21 Snježana Buzov, *Vlasi u bosanskom sandžaku i islamizacija*, Scientific meeting "Expansion of Islam and Islamic culture in Bosnian ejalet", POF 41/1991, Sarajevo 1991, pgs.84-99

ARCHIVAL RECORDS OF THE OTTOMAN PERIOD IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ARCHIVES

Sejidalija Gušić*

ABSTRACT

The paper presents the basic structure of documents from the Ottoman administration, as well as their condition and a short survey of archival holdings and collections from this period (middle of the 15th to beginning of the 20th century) preserved in archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the same time, the paper offers certain conclusions and guidance for further action aimed at preservation, collection and publishing of the stated type of archival material.

Frequent ravages of war, invasions of various conquerors, rebellions and uprisings, long-lasting occupations and the like, which have routinely accompanied the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the fact that various conquerors, while leaving Bosnia and Herzegovina, took the documentation with them, all together resulted in the documents from the period of the Ottoman rule in our country (from the mid-15th century to the beginning of the 20th century) becoming overall a true rarity.

Apart from the Vilayet¹ Archive, which was kept in the Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo (over 200 000 documents), and which was destroyed in an act of barbarism in May 1992, preserved in Bosnia and Herzegovina are mainly fragments that were collected by our individual archives and assembled into precious collections. In most archives, archival records of this type are labeled and registered as "Oriental collections", essentially representing documents, manuscripts and printed books in Oriental languages (Turkish, Arabic, Persian, as well as Bosnian written in Arabic script).

This paper will try to present the basic structure of the documents of Ottoman administration, give a short review of the holdings and collections of records from this period held by the archival institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as offer certain conclusions and directions for further action with a view to preserving and collecting such archival records. The data on collections of archival records and manuscripts from the Ottoman period held by certain other institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina will be left to serve as a topic of another paper given that such a review would require additional scholarly research studies. Therein I, above all, have in mind the Institute for Oriental Studies, which is presently going through the stage of reconstruction of its holdings and collections, the Gazi Husrev-beg's Library, which holds 4500 manuscripts in Oriental languages, 3000 documents, over 260 sidžils² and defters³ and the like.

* Director of The Historical Archives, Sarajevo

¹ Vilayet – a province of the Ottoman Empire

² Sidžil – a court protocol; court records

Also belonging therein are certainly the collections of documents from the Ottoman period held by three Franciscan monasteries, namely those in Fojnica, Kraljeva Sutjeska and Kreševo, as well as the archives of other religious communities that have either been established or are in the process of being established. It will also probably be possible to find data very interesting for the study of the Ottoman period in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina among the holdings and collections of Adil-beg Zulfikarpašić's Bosniac Institute in Sarajevo once they are made available to a wider circle of scholars and researchers, as well as among the collections of documents and manuscripts scattered around the museums of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

STRUCTURE OF THE DOCUMENTS OF OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION

Conquering Bosnia, the Ottomans brought along their social relations, their political organization, and their agrarian social order. The Ottoman Empire, above all, represented a military state headed by the Sultan as its supreme ruler. In the exercise of his will, the Sultan used the centralized and widely extended state apparatus. Such a centralized and organized administration produced various types of documents. This paper will try to present the basic structure of the documents produced by the Ottoman administration, which are, given the centralization of the Ottoman government in all of its provinces, represented in the holdings and collections of archival records from this period held by our archival institutions. Based on what was examined and processed to date, it can be said that these records are very diverse, starting from the most common administration records and up to very important data on economic, social, cultural and political circumstances in our country. The last official historiographer of the Ottoman Empire, Abdurrahman Şeref, divided the Ottoman historical sources into four major groups:

I – *Acts of the Sublime Porte and Imperial Divan* (orders that were signed or considered by the Sultan himself, correspondence with military commanders, correspondence with vilayets, orders and decrees coming from the Divan and the like);

II – *Acts and defters of the Imperial Cadastre*;

III – *Acts and books of the state accounting office* (defters of income and expenditure and the like);

IV – *Sidžils of shariah courts* (protocols);

Lajoš Fekete, a well-known Hungarian Ottoman scholar, did not accept such division based on the nature of the authority that issued the acts, but

3 Defter – a register; tax-register

introduced an independent division of the Ottoman sources, thereby dividing them into two major groups:

I – *Secular documents* (ferman⁴, berat⁵, ahd-name⁶ and all orders and decrees coming from the Sultan, documents related to the actions of the Grand Vizier, letters and orders of beglerbegs⁷, letters of lower-ranking officers, defters and sidžils used by official offices, etc.);

II – *Religious documents* (shariah sidžils, decisions issued by kadis⁸, vakfijas⁹, fatwas¹⁰ and the like);

This division was rightfully rejected by the Bulgarian Turkologist Golobov, who pointed at the fact that it was not historically substantiated since all Ottoman sources were of a secular character. Regarding the division of A. Šeref as accurate, Golobov divides the Ottoman documents into tri basic groups:

I – *Documents of the supreme government;*

II – *Documents of the administrative authorities;*

III – *Documents of the shariah-judicial authorities;*

Golobov's division was accepted by the well-known Bosnian historian and Ottoman scholar, Hazim Šabanović, who deemed it to be the most accurate one. Such division essentially is completely accurate. However, we believe that the very label of the second group (Documents of the administrative authorities) is not entirely appropriate because the term “administrative authorities” could have a different meaning from the one it is here meant to have. Therefore we believe that it would be more justified to label this group of documents as *documents of lower-ranking authorities* since it is this group precisely that these documents belong to, as it will be explained later. Thus, we could finally present the division of Ottoman sources into three major groups, and so in the following wording:

I – *Documents of the supreme authorities*

This group comprises all documents issued by the central government, including both the documents issued by the Sultan himself and the documents issued by the various offices of the supreme government. Within this group, a following further division can be introduced:

4 Ferman – a decree or order

5 Berat – a decree or deed

6 Ahd-name – grant of privilege by the Sultan

7 Beglerbeg (Turkish: beylerbeyi) – the highest category of territorial governor

8 Kadi – a judge

9 Vakfija - a document certifying an endowment (vakuf)

10 Fatwa – an authoritative ruling on a religious matter

Acts of the Sublime Porte (*Babi ali*) and defters of the Imperial Divan (*Divani humayun*). Falling into this category are the acts issued in the name of the Sultan himself, namely *berats*, *fermans* and letters signed by the Sultan; then treaties, correspondence of the government with military-civil governors of the provinces, i.e. sandžak-begs¹¹ and beglerbegs and other documents.

Legal and other codes (*Ahkam defterleri*);

Books and acts of the Imperial Cadastre (*Defteri hakani*). These are registers (books) of censuses by individual sandžaks, and they contain data on all settlements (villages and urban settlements) and land plots (*mirijas*¹², *mulks*¹³, *vakufs*¹⁴), on their inhabitants (all households individually), and on the types of all field crops. These registers, which are commonly labeled as *defters*, and of which different kinds are known, represent first-class historical sources. They provide us with data on legal position of individual provinces, on the structure of sandžak, on respective positions of *spahis*¹⁵ and *raya*¹⁶, etc. In other words, they tell us about the legal and economic position of Bosnia in the period of the Ottoman rule.

Books and acts of the state accounting office (*muhasebet*) and state finances (*umuri maliye*). These documents reflect the financial situation in the Empire and its individual provinces, and the budgets.

Various acts issued by other government bodies, such as *bujuruldijas*¹⁷ of *kadiaskers*¹⁸ and *defterdars*¹⁹, fatwas of sheikh-ul-Islam, etc.

II - Documents of lower-ranking authorities

Falling into this category are all official documents and acts sent to the government from its subject bodies in the provinces, such as the military and civil governors of the provinces, i.e. beglerbegs, sandžak-begs and defterdars and others, as well as various official records and books kept by the administrative authorities.

III – Documents of the shariah-judicial authorities

This group of documents comprises the protocols of shariah courts (*sidžils*). Recorded in them on a daily basis were all *kadis*' rulings (*ilam*), decisions (*hudžet*), sales contracts, endowment deeds (*vakufname*), inheritance documents and various

11 Sandžak-beg – governor of a "sandžak" (Turkish: sancak), i.e. the largest territorial subdivision of a vilayet, originally a military district

12 Mirija – a plot of arable land, a pasture in villages

13 Mulk – a land plot in town

14 Vakuf (Turkish: vakıf) – a religious-charitable foundation, holding property in perpetuity

15 Spahi – a cavalryman

16 Raya – originally non-Ottoman subject-people, by the nineteenth century the term generally meant non-Muslim subjects only

17 Bujuruldija – an order or decree

18 Kadiasker – a kadi judging in the affairs of all having "asker" (military) status

19 Defterdar – the highest officer in charge of financial affairs in a territorial unit

other acts. Apart from that, kadis often recorded in sidžils the documents that they received from higher authorities: fermans, berats and bujuruldiyas, as well as general announcements, so that it was in this way that many such documents, whose originals were lost, remained preserved in the form of original transcripts.

This was, given only in barest outline, a general review of the division of Ottoman historical sources, with the bodies producing the documents serving as the basis of the division.

REVIEW OF THE HOLDINGS AND COLLECTIONS OF RECORDS FROM THE OTTOMAN PERIOD IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ARCHIVES

HISTORICAL ARCHIVE SARAJEVO - SARAJEVO

Among the holdings and collections of the Historical Archive Sarajevo, very important and rich, both in terms of quality and quantity, is the Collection of Documents, Manuscripts and Books in Oriental Languages. These archival records, hand-written or printed, comprise documents, defters, sidžils, manuscripts, printed books, salnamas²⁰, takvims²¹, magazines, geographic maps and the like. The Collection comprises over 14 000 units. Judging by the quality and quantity of the records, the Collection is one of the most important collections of Oriental records in the South-East European region.

I will herein offer just a basic description of the Collection, but its detailed description can be found in *The Guide through Holdings and Collections of the Historical Archive Sarajevo*, May 2003, Sarajevo. The collection is essentially composed of four major parts. These are: a) documents; b) manuscripts; c) defters; d) printed books.

Documents

The Oriental Collection includes over 10 000 documents, mostly in Turkish. The documents date from various time periods and mainly relate to Sarajevo, its narrow surroundings and inland Bosnia and Herzegovina. They represent a substantial value for the studies of earlier and newer history of Sarajevo and its surroundings. The oldest documents relating to Sarajevo are transcripts of vakufnamas of Bosnian governors Isa-beg from 1461, Ajas-beg from 1477 and Gazi Husrev-beg from 1531/32, and Gazi Husrev-beg's emernama²² from 1532 on the freedom of religion for all inhabitants of Sarajevo. The documents from the Oriental Collection vary in content. As for their form, they represent: fermans;

20 Salnama – an almanac, annal

21 Takvim – a calendar

22 Emernama – an ordinance

berats; bujuruldijas; hudžets; ilams; vakufnamas; vasijetnamas²³; serfage, lease contracts; tax and land registry certificates and building permits; business and private correspondence, various certificates and receipts; statements of account; registers etc.

The majority of documents relate to old Sarajevo agas²⁴ and begs²⁵ families, which played an important role in the political and social life not only of Sarajevo but Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole. With time, family archives of some of these families were formed. The majority of archival materials were after all purchased from their direct or indirect descendants, that is inheritors. The most well-known families that the documents from the Collection relate to are: Fadilpašićs, Dženetićs, Glođas, Svrzas, Babićs, Imaretlijas, Bakarevićs, Merhemićs, Kumašins, Kabadajas, Zildžićs, Hadžišabanovićs and others.

Manuscripts

The Oriental Collection includes 1072 codices comprising 1584 manuscripts (originals or transcripts). The subject matter of the manuscripts varies and mainly includes the following disciplines: Oriental philology (grammar, syntax, orthography, lexicography); philosophy (gnostic theory, logic, didactics); theology; history; geography; Qur'an and Qur'anic studies (tafseer, tajweed, qiraat); Hadith; natural sciences; medicine; organization of state and society; Islamic law; literature, etc.

The Collection, inter alia, comprises copies of the works of some of the earliest Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian writers. It also includes around 50 manuscripts written in Bosnian language and Arabic script. As for significant local authors who wrote in Oriental languages, represented in the Collection are: Hasan Kafi Pruščak, Hasan Kaimija, Mula Mustafa Firakija, Muhamed Nerkesi, Hevai Muhamed Uskufi and others.

Manuscripts, in considerable number, represent masterpieces of Oriental calligraphy and ornamentation with specially embellished covers and titles.

Defters

The collection of defters includes records especially interesting for the study of economic relations in Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina and it comprises 355 specimens mostly in Turkish. They vary in content and form. Most often they include data on income and expenditure of individual feuds, registers of serfs and serf lords, merchants and craftsmen, workshops, houses, mahalas²⁶, etc. A special mention should herein be made of five defters of the Sarajevo belt-maker's

23 Vasijetnama – a testament

24 Aga – landowning “lord” belonging to the lower of the two categories of the landowner

25 Beg – lord or landowner belonging to the higher of the two categories of the landowner

26 Mahala – a small division of a town

craft guild for the period from 1726 to 1823, which are of exceptional importance for the study of Sarajevo craft guilds.

Largest in number in the collection are mercantile, landowner and craft defters. Most mercantile defters relate to Sarajevo merchant families of Kumašins and Užičanin-Kreševljakovići, whereas landowner defters relate to families of Fadilpašićs, Sijerčićs, Softićs and others. The Collection, inter alia, comprises a reproduction of the Ottoman cadastral defter for Bosnian Sandžak for the year 1468/69.

Printed books

The Oriental Collection of the Historical Archive Sarajevo, within its Oriental library and the Collection of manuscripts and books of Mehmed Teufik Okić, comprises 2185 printed books, brochures, salnamas, takvims and magazines in Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Bosnian. The largest number of books comes from the area of history, literature, law and philosophy. Represented therein are both Bosnian scholars and writers writing in Oriental languages.

ARCHIVE OF HERZEGOVINA – MOSTAR

The Archive of Herzegovina in Mostar holds two exceptional collections of manuscripts and documents in Oriental languages significant for the studies of political, economic and cultural history of both Herzegovina and the wider surroundings.

The collection of Oriental manuscripts comprises 754 catalogue entries and covers the period from 1382 to 1883. The specific quality of the collection is that a significant number of the manuscripts it holds were transcribed by our people or were written by them in our country during the Ottoman rule. The content of manuscripts differs in its subject matter and the language in which the manuscripts were written. Out of the total of 754 manuscripts, 505 are in Arabic, 135 in Turkish, 7 in Persian, 4 in Bosnian written in Arabic script, 91 in two Oriental languages and 12 in three Oriental languages.

The Collection *Acta Turcarum* comprises 22 archival boxes with 1116 documents and covers the period from 1517 to 1878. There are 632 original documents, whereas the rest of them are photocopies, transcripts or certified copies. The documents vary in content and they include most of the documents produced by the Ottoman administration of the time (fermans, berats, vakufnamas, defters, sidžils, and the like). The original documents are mainly purchased from natural persons. The photocopies originate from the Presidential Archive in Istanbul, State Archive in Dubrovnik, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo, and from Ahmed Biščević from Mostar.

The Collection is available to researchers and scholars, and its analytical inventory, as well as its chronological and thematic catalogues are all completed.

ARCHIVE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA – SARAJEVO

Within the Collection of Gifts and Purchases, which was created through setting aside of archival records from various holdings in the course of their processing in the Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or through gifts and purchases from natural persons, organizations and institutions, there is a valuable collection of documents and a smaller number of manuscripts, *Acta Turcica*, comprising 636 inventory entries mostly in Turkish.

I will herein single out as particularly valuable the collection of microfilms of cadastral defters for the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sandžak, covering the period from the mid-15th century until the end of the 19th century, which was in January 2004 received by the Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a donation of the Archive of the Republic of Turkey. Also precious for the study of the History of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Ottoman period are certainly the collections of microfilms of archival records of the *Dragoman Archive in Zadar, 1798-1808* (14 reels) and the *Propaganda Archive in Rome, 1622-1850* (11 reels of microfilm).

TUZLA CANTON ARCHIVE – TUZLA

The oriental Collection of the Tuzla Canton Archive was created through the purchase of documents, through gifts, or through photocopying of original documents held by the Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo and the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb. All documents, which relate to the area of Northeastern Bosnia in the period of Ottoman rule, were in the Archive carefully collected and processed.

The oldest document dates back to 1643, whereas a manuscript of a religious-moral work dates back to 1578. The Collection is organized based on the type of documents, so that there are inventories for each individual group of documents, as well as the analytical inventory of the Collection as a whole, which was composed by Nermina Hodžić, and was in 1990 published separately as an offprint.

ARCHIVE OF REPUBLIKA SRPSKA – BANJA LUKA

Judging by available pieces of information, as well as the data from the publication *Arhivski fondovi i zbirke u SFRJ – SR BiH* (Archival Holdings and Collections in SFRY – SR BiH), which was printed in 1981 in Belgrade, there is in the Archive of Republika Srpska in Banja Luka a Collection of Oriental manuscripts and documents. The oldest document in the Collection dates back to

1311, and the Collection itself, which is kept in a single archival box, covers the period from 1311 (?) to 1910. Since I myself have not had an opportunity to check the dating of the above-mentioned document in person, I do express a certain amount of suspicion and assume that the year in question is 1311 by Hijra calendar, which would correspond to 1893/94.

UNA-SANA CANTON ARCHIVE – BIHAĆ

Within the holdings and collections held by the Una-Sana Canton Archive there are no holdings or collections of original documents or manuscripts relating to the period of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

There were recently efforts aimed at forming a collection of documents from the Ottoman period pertaining to the territory of the Una-Sana Canton. Thus the copies of such documents were procured from the Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the same time, in the State Archive in Zadar, Republic of Croatia, copied was a portion of documents from the *Dragoman Archive* (“dragoman” was an interpreter or translator in foreign affairs and consulates of the Ottoman Empire) pertaining to the area of Northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as a portion of geographic maps from the *Collection of Geographic and Topographic Maps of Dalmatia and Neighboring Countries* – division: *Maps of Neighboring Countries*.

CENTRAL BOSNIA CANTON ARCHIVE – TRAVNIK

The Central Bosnia Canton Archive in Travnik does not have any holdings or collections of documents and manuscripts from the Ottoman period in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is only within its Library, which holds over 700 library units, that there is a certain number of printed books and manuscripts in Oriental languages (Arabic, Turkish, Persian).

CONCLUSION

The obvious conclusion following from the above stated data is that there is a major shortage of archival records that could adequately testify about the period of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The reasons of such a situation, given all the cataclysms that Bosnia and Herzegovina witnessed in its history, are not a matter of controversies. However, what should be pointed out herein is the fact that a significant part of our archival holdings is situated in archives outside of the territory of our country. There was but little done to date aimed at organized archival research with a view to adding to our holdings and collections of documents relating to the Ottoman period in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The current work on exploration of the archival records abroad (Turkey, Austria, Croatia, Serbia and Monte Negro, etc.) is mostly reduced to research studies carried out for the purpose of studying individual themes, and does

not have the goal of complex archival research that would aim at ultimately obtaining copies of selected documents to be held in archives and made available to researchers. It is in this respect that the maximum use should be made of the Agreement on Cooperation of the Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Archive of the Republic of Turkey (Ankara, October 28th 2000), whereas at the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina an agreement should be prepared and signed between archival services and scientific institutions, providing for a unique program of complex archival research in the country and abroad, adjusted to meet the present and future needs of the historical science. At the moment, due to understanding of the authorities of the Republic of Turkey, microfilms and photocopies of the cadastral defters for the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Novi Pazar Sandžak from the period of the Ottoman rule, were obtained from the Archive of the Republic of Turkey. This opportunity should be used to reach such an agreement, whereas the similar actions in the future would require preparation of a carefully considered project with specification of the type of documents necessary for serious historical research. Herein I do not only imply the archives of Republic of Turkey but also the archives in Austria, Hungary, Italy and countries in immediate neighborhood that shared the destiny of the Ottoman Empire together with Bosnia and Herzegovina.

REFERENCES

- Vodič Arhiva Bosne i Hercegovine / glavni redaktor Slavica Klarić.-Sarajevo: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, 1987.- pp.462.
- The guide of the Historical archive Sarajevo (authors Mustafa Dervišević). – Sarajevo : JU Istorijski Arhiv Sarajevo, 2003. – pp 195.

BOSNIA BETWEEN THE OTTOMAN AND HABSBURG EMPIRES WITHIN THE EASTERN CRISIS

Mustafa Imamović*

ABSTRACT

The Eastern crisis in 1875-1878 represented one of the transitive periods in the political history of the Southslav and Balkan peoples. All varying political aspirations and concepts which gradually matured on this geo-political territory during previous decades of national development were manifested openly in a relatively short time of three years. The effort of the Balkan national forces to fulfill their political plans within the process of solution of the Eastern matter in 1875-1878 depended in great measure upon the ratio of strength between the major European powers which strived to realize their own interests while fighting and "pushing the Ottoman Empire out of Europe". A certain balance of interests between various powers on the Balkan territory was achieved at the Congress of Berlin. In this sense it can be said that the main political struggle in the Eastern crisis concerned the position and destiny of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In no other circumstances the interests of Balkan states and major powers had been in greater opposition than precisely in the question of the political destiny of this country. The unsolved land question, and the complex ethnical and religious structure of Bosnia-Herzegovina intensified the crisis and deepened the conflict.

In the past 125 years, from the end of Berlin Congress, numerous elements of the Eastern matter have long since been solved, while many political concepts and hegemonistic plans still have existed. Some of them are heard even today, somewhere only in a certain type of historiography, and somewhere also as a current political and national program and task. Hence the many elements of the Eastern matter deserve today a comprehensive historical appraisal.

BOSNIA BETWEEN THE OTTOMAN AND HABSBURG EMPIRES WITHIN THE EASTERN CRISIS

The Eastern crisis in 1875-1878 represented one of the transitive periods in the political history of the South Slav people, and generally speaking of the Balkan peoples. All varying national political aspirations and concepts which gradually matured on the Balkan geopolitical territory during previous decades of economic

* Prof. Dr., University of Sarajevo

and political development were manifested openly in a relatively short time of three years. The effort of the Balkan nations (or ethnic groups) to fulfill their national-political plans within the process of solution of the Eastern matter (res Orientales) in 1875-1878 depended in great measure upon the ratio of forces between the major European powers that strove to realise their own interests while fighting and pushing the Ottoman Empire out of Europe. After several rebellions and uprisings (in Bosnia and Bulgaria on the first place), then various wars and attempts in early 1878 to solve the Eastern question by San Stefano agreement devised in line with interests of Imperial Russia, decisive action of England, Austro-Hungary and Germany brought about to convocation of the Congress of major powers in Berlin through the revisions of San Stefano's provisions in June 1878 where the Eastern matter was settled. Certain balance of interests of different powers on the Balkan territory was also achieved.

It can be said that the main political struggle in the Eastern crisis 1875-78 concerned the position and destiny of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. In no other circumstances the interests of Balkan states and major powers, and various political movements in the Balkans had been in greater opposition than precisely in the question of the political and legal destiny of these two countries. The unsolved agrarian question, and the complex ethnic and religious structure of these two countries intensified the crisis and deepened the conflict.

I will confine myself to Bosnia and Herzegovina, usually in one word Bosnia, which filled up one of the central places within the history of the Eastern question 1875-78. This country in that times had found itself in the quite difficult internal turmoils, being between, on one side, of the Ottoman Empire to which it still belonged, and on the other side, of Habsburg Empire which claimed Bosnia and Herzegovina for itself.

Historical destiny of the Habsburg Monarchy and of Ottoman Empire was closely connected. Within the historical science, it was generally accepted the opinion that Habsburg Empire or Monarchy really arose after the battle of Mohach in 1526. Some one very good noticed that Habsburg Empire was unintentional act of Suleiman the Magnificent (in Turkish tradition more known as Kanuni i.e. the Lawgiver). Although until the First World War, it was one of the greatest European States, Habsburg Empire, in fact, was result of the historical necessity. Military destroying Hungarian and Croatia kingdoms on Mohach, whose «the rests of the rests» having no choice linked themselves to the Habsburg throne, the Ottomans found themselves in 1529 for the first time at the gates and walls of Vienna and clearly threatened with the conquest of the great parts of middle Europe. The Habsburg hastily tried to link to their crown as much countries and the provinces as well as it was possible to build up one defensive system within the Danube region to block the further Ottoman rush into Europe.

They consider that the struggle against the Ottomans became in fact the «European issue». Habsburg and the other European writers represented the idea

that the Ottomans not only conquer the European territories but they overturn the European social system as well its values.

Since the first siege of Vienna in 1529, until the French revolution as well as the Napoleon conquests, the Habsburg Monarchy together with Venice and later Russia waged several wars against the Ottoman Empire. Until the second siege of Vienna in 1683, i.e. Karlovci peace in 1699, these wars had mostly defensive character for Austria. The great Austrian-Turkish war (or Vienna war) 1683-1699 represents crucial event both for Austria and for the Ottoman Empire. For the Ottoman Empire it designates the beginning of its slow fall as well as the definite withdrawal out of the Central Europe.

However, this war represents a crucial event for Austria as well. With the defeat of the Ottomans and by their withdrawal south of the Sava river and Danube in 1699, the danger for Europe was finally removed. At that point the European mission of the Habsburg Empire had mostly been fulfilled. So it can be said that the gradual Habsburg fall began at the same time with the debacle of the Ottomans in war 1683-1699. Although the fall of Austrian Empire had not been so visible as it was by its centuries long Eastern enemy, Habsburgs nevertheless survived Ottoman Empire even one day. Both empires disappeared in the First World War when they finally fought together as the allies.

After the Karlovci peace, Bosnia, including Herzegovina, became the most western Ottoman country exposed to permanent Austrian threat and attacks from the north and west as well as Venetian raids out of Dalmatia. During the 18th century Austria waged three offensive wars against the Ottoman Empire in which Bosnia was one of the first targets. These wars did not bring to Austria any real and lasting results, the first of all because of very strong resistance of Bosnian Muslim population. Being occupied and busy on the other sides, Ottoman government left the defence of its western borders to the Bosnian Muslims (i.e. to Bosniaks). So, during the war with Austria in 1737-1739, Bosnia had to send over 15.000 fighters and soldiers onto the Russian as well as the Persian battlefields. Besides of that Bosnian Muslim militia, mobilized and organized by of that time governor of Bosnia vizier Hekimoglu Ali-pasha succeeded to defeat completely a large Austrian regular military formation of several units which invaded Bosnia. It happened in a terrific battle near Banja Luka (northwestern Bosnia) on August the 4th 1737. We can say, without any exaggeration, that Bosnian Muslims with this big victory did not only save Bosnia as their homeland, but that they really became a nation.

For the last time during the 18th century Austria tried to conquer Bosnia within the war 1788-1791. Austria started this war together with Russia, as the result of an agreement between emperor Joseph II and Tsarina Katarina the Great. Their final aim was to destroy Ottoman Empire, to conquer Istanbul, to reestablish Byzantine empire as the Greek medieval state, and generally to solve the Eastern question by mutual division of the Ottoman assets in the Balkans.

This war ended with the peace of Svishtovo (a town on the Danube in presentday Bulgaria) in 1791, without any act of territorial changings, so borders stayed as they were before the war started. After this war Austria tried never to enter Bosnia again until 1878.

There were several reasons for nearly a century long lull and slowdown within old Habsburg plans and efforts to conquer Bosnia. The first of all, during French revolution and the Napoleon wars, the Habsburgs were very concerned how to preserve the feudal order in Europe and save themselves. The Habsburgs then faced the same problems in the Revolution 1848-49. In the late 1850's Habsburgs vainly struggled to keep Italian provinces and to prevent the national liberation as well as unification of Italy. And finally in 1860's Austria had to engage all its political and military potentials in an effort to try to keep its leading position within the German alliance. Austria lost that position after it was defeated by the Prussia in 1866 and was pushed out of Germany. Just after the Compromise and establishing of dualism in 1867, Habsburg Monarchy turned again to the Balkans, to try there to compensate those what was lost in North Italy and in Germany.

Military and some other circles in Vienna considered that it was necessary to conquer Bosnia (including) Herzegovina, because of Dalmation security and generally protection of the Austrian position at the Adriatic Coast.

Furthermore, Habsburg Monarchy was considered as the protector of Bosnian Catholics. The majority of Bosnian Franciscans were educated owing to Austrian scholarships, and the funds for their activities had usually come from Vienna. The number of the Catholics in Bosnia and Herzegovina had considerably increased after 1850. According to the many opinions, the Catholic church was actually, «the symbol as well as the instrument of the Habsburg interests in Bosnia and Herzegovina».

The military demands as well as the ones of the Catholic circles to go to Bosnia were in certain collision with general Austrian politics towards Turkey in the middle of the 19th century. Even during the second half of the 18th century there was certain fear about unreasonable Russian expansion and influence in the Balkans which could menace Austrian interests in the lower Danube flow.

In the course of the 19th century this fear was magnified. Eventual Russian control over the Danube would represent much greater danger for Austria than the existence of the falling Ottoman Empire in the Balkans. Even prince Metternich believed that Turkey had essential importance for the Habsburg security. His political adviser Gentz wrote in 1815: «Austria could, but for short time, outlive the end of Turkey». Because of that one of the Habsburg durable principles became the saving of the status quo in the Balkans and as long as it was possible the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire in order to prevent the Russian expansion.

The Emperor Franz Joseph, although influenced by the military party, but who learnt the lesson from the previous failures, was against all extreme tendencies

in the Austrian politics. It was more significant for his foreign minister count Gyula Andrássy. Even before the outbreak of the crisis, Andrássy emphasized his attitude at the Crown Council on January 29th, 1875: «Turkey nearly owns the gift of providence for Austro-Hungary. It keeps the status quo of the small Balkan states and prevents their aspirations. When there were no Turkey, all these aspirations would tumble onto our heads... If Bosnia and Herzegovina would belong to Serbia and Montenegro, or if another state would be formed there, what could not be prevented, then we would fail and take on the role of patient».

Andrássy probably had been watching Turkey as favorable neighbour and wanted to prevent its catastrophe as long as it was possible. He didn't, however, hardly hold his attitude that the Ottoman Empire's integrity must be absolutely preserved. On the contrary, he was firm considering that, if the Turks can not preserve their rule over Bosnia and Herzegovina, any other power, except Austro-Hungary itself must not substitute them. Least of all, Serbia and Montenegro, whose possible expansion to one great Balkan state, was considered as the danger for Habsburg Empire. This fear of the national states enhanced with Austro-Hungarian desire for the economic expansion. Already in 1875, Austro-Hungary got concession and started to build a railway in North-Western Bosnia. Besides, with taking of Bosnia, Austro-Hungary would provide itself a new market, while the cheaper English industrial goods nearly pushed out its products of the Ottoman markets. And finally natural resources of Bosnia and Herzegovina attracted the attention of industrial, and generally, business circles of Habsburg Monarchy and Europe.

The great Eastern Crisis broke out with the rebellion or uprising in summer of 1875 in the certain regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina, namely in Eastern Herzegovina and Western Bosnia, so-called Krajina. The ruling circles in Vienna considered this rebellion as a direct pretext and the opportunity to emphasize Austro-Hungary as a candidate for the role of pacifier and administrator of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Then Andrássy, having in mind all political as well as economic interests of the Monarchy, led cautious diplomatic action which successfully ended three years later, getting the occupying mandate. The first step was taken with the complete Bismarck's support. Andrássy sent, on December 30th, 1875, a note to the great powers in which he demanded that the great powers commonly ask the High Porte (i.e. Ottoman government) to introduce and conduct some basic reforms in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Suggested reforms comprehended mostly the religious equality and various tax and some other measures for the improvement of peasantry's position. The supervision over conducting of reforms would be carried out by an European commission.

This note didn't achieve any result, mostly because of inactivity and open rejection of England, especially its prime minister Disraeli. He believed that Bosnia

was not a Christian country and in addition to that he was afraid that eventual Bosnian autonomy could be a precedent for the Ireland.

By the end of June 1876 Serbia (and Montenegro) started the war against the Ottoman Empire. In such a situation the emperor Franz Joseph and Tsar Aleksandar II accompanied with their ministers Andrassy and Gorchakov met on July 8th, 1876 in Reichstadt (presentday Zakopy in Czech Republic). They made a complete agreement so that in the case of Turkish victory, Serbia and Montenegro have to be saved, and territorial status quo preserved. In the case of the Turkish failure, Serbia and Montenegro would expand their territories and meet themselves on the Lim river (Sanjak). Bosnia and Herzegovina would belong to Austro-Hungary, while Russia would again get Bessarabia as well as some assets in Central Asia. Bulgaria, Rumelia and Albania can become autonomous states, and Istanbul a free or open city, while Thessaly and island of Crete would be united with Greece.

There were no written records made on this Agreement, what was the reason for many later on misunderstandings and open conflict. Russians claimed later on that they conceded to Austro-Hungary just a part of Bosnia, while Andrassy demanded the whole Bosnia (including Herzegovina). Gorchakov was not quite clear regarding geographical details, while Andrassy probably spoke on Bosnia having no precise ideas about the things he wanted.

By this Agreement it can be seen that two powers had considered the Ottoman defeat credible. However, the events quite quickly disproved such expectations, while within July and August (1876) Turks attested their military superiority over Serbia. The Ottoman troops advanced deeply into Serbian territory and came to the distance of only 111 kilometers south-east of Belgrade. At that situation Russia with an ultimatum presented to the Ottoman government assured the armistice to Serbia and the Ottoman withdrawal.

Trying to avoid the further dictate of the great powers young national circles in Turkey, known as Young Ottomans proclaimed a liberal Constitution for the whole Empire on Decembar 23rd, 1876.

Russia then decided to start the war to ensure its intrests in the Balkans and eventually reach Istanbul as well as the Straits. Being learnt the lesson of the Crimean war, when it stayed alone, Russia decided previously to renew Reichstadt's agreement with Austro-Hungary. So, a convention was concluded on January 15th 1877 in Budapest with the aim to avoid the collision of Austrian and Russian intrests regarding the Eastern matter. With this convention Austro-Hungary committed itself to the neutrality in Russian-Turkish war, and in return it had got the right to choose the time as well as the way of the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Two powers agreed also that in the case of decay and disintegration of the Ottoman Empire would not be created any great South Slav State.

Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire in April 1878. In spite of unexpected and very fierce resistance of the Turks at Plevna (Pleven, town northeast of Sofia) which lasted full six months Russia won the war and a cease fire was signed in Edirne on January 31st 1878.

Concerning a peace settlement Ottoman government accepted all Russian demands feeling that the other European powers on the first place England would not accept them. While Russia completely disregarded Austrian interests in the peace draft, a conflict among the powers became inevitable.

This conflict had reached dramatic proportions after the signing of the San Stefano (Turkish: Yesil köy) peace treaty in early March (3rd) 1878. This treaty which Count Gyula Andrassy defined as «Orthodox-Slav sermon», envisaged establishment of «Great Bulgaria» as a formation which would enable Russian domination in the Eastern parts of the Balkans and on some occasion control over Istanbul and the Straits connecting the Black Sea with the Mediterranean. Under treaty some type of autonomy under the supreme authority of the Sultan was envisaged for Bosnia-Herzegovina. This caused damage to the interests of Austro-Hungary which considered that the previous agreements with Imperial Russia allowed it to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. England considered the Russian coming near the Straits as menacing to its interests in Middle East, and resolutely supported Austro-Hungary in its demands for annulment of the San Stefano treaty.

The first move in that direction was made by Andrassy, as on the 21st of April 1878 he sent the English government a comprehensive memorandum on the question of Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to Andrassy, it is in the interest of both Europe and the Ottoman Empire to have this province incorporated into Austro-Hungary, as its autonomous organisation is impossible due to great social and religious differences among the population. Andrassy strived to take advantage of the uprising in some parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the interest of Austro-Hungarian diplomacy, claiming that the agrarian relations, as the basic cause of disturbances, have not been settled as yet. The war only made the existing, unsettled situation even worse. Turkey proved incapable of inaugurating reforms and paying indemnification to the peasants, so the old conflicts may flare up again. But even if it succeeds in pacifying temporarily this province, the rebellion of landless peasants against the landowners is to break out soon, and bring many Muslim refugees into the Austro-Hungary, as it has happened recently with Christians. The consequence of this struggle would be uniting of Bosnia and Herzegovina with Serbia and Montenegro. The creation of such a Slavic group would endanger peace and the Austrian provinces Dalmatia, Slavonia and Croatia. This would compell Austro-Hungary to annex the whole Slavic complex which aspires to uniting, provided it does not want to be exposed to constant menace from it. To avoid this alternative, the Monarchy must occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina.

From the standpoint of Ottoman interests such solution would be also the most favorable one. Turkey would have to take new obligations, although it was

not able to fulfill the already existing even before the war. The country would remain economically passive for long time to come. The autonomous rights would cause dissatisfaction among the Muslims, and the Church would not be able to prevent further rebellions. Turkey would be in no condition to defend Bosnia and Herzegovina from Serbia and Montenegro. The next phase of the complications on the Orient, caused by the Bosnian issue, would be probably the cooperation between Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria against the Ottoman Empire. The consequence of this for the Ottoman Empire would be the loss of not only Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also of Albania and probably of all European dominions. In such a situation it would not be able to restrain the Christian elements in the Balkans. The next uprising in Bosnia would unite all dissatisfied elements and bring them to the gates of Istanbul. This danger can be prevented only by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by some conservative non-Slavic power, which shall render the union of pan-Slavic elements impossible. Turkey would not have to fear Slavic aspirations any more and could concentrate its forces on the defence of its remaining provinces. The autonomy would lead to extermination of Muslim elements as it happened in Serbia. The task of Austro-Hungary would be to protect the Bosnian Muslims and ensure their country. This would prove, contrary to the Slavic claims and propaganda, that joint living of Muslims and Christians is possible without suppression one by the other, which would have beneficial consequences for the whole Ottoman Empire. Turkey would lose a province, the possession of which is not «profitable» and the loss of which is unavoidable, but the current solution of this question would eliminate the danger of it in the future.

It is also in the interest of Europe to calm down province for own good. The preservation of the Ottoman rule can only cause new conflicts. Austro-Hungary alone can pacify Bosnia and Herzegovina, protect the Muslims and prevent other upheavals. It is also in the interest of Europe that no major power acquires dominant influence in the East. If Austro-Hungary replaces the Ottoman Empire in the possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina, than the Slavic grouping under Russian protection would be impossible and a counterbalance to Russia would be created.

In short, Austro-Hungary does not wish to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina nor it ever had such aspirations; on the contrary, it has done everything to avoid this, even when it was made to take such step. It is an unpopular act, inhibited by many political and financial difficulties. However, the Monarchy is compelled to do so, in order to protect itself from the consequences of the San Stefano agreement. While for Austro-Hungary this would be only a sacrifice, for Europe and the Ottoman Empire this would be a great favour.

England accepted this memorandum, so during May, all diplomatic preparations were carried out and the Congress of powers assembled on June 13th 1878 in Berlin. The main spokesmen were England and Austro-Hungary «who, by war preparations and resolve emphasized their demands before the Congress». Russia could not oppose this, as England and Austro-Hungary won an over-all

support of Germany which had arbitrary role and whose attitude was of crucial importance for the decisions of the Congress. Bismarck displayed this, presiding over the Congress with certain military bluntness, which, according to the Russian ambassador, Peter Shuvalov, «offended none».

Article XIV of the San Stefano treaty regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina was a subject of discussions at the Eighth Session of the Congress on the 28th of June 1878. Andrassy was a first speaker. On the behalf of Austro-Hungary he demanded from the congress powers to reach a quick and definite solution of the issue of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He stressed that Austria is not satisfied with the provisions of the San Stefano treaty on Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the Bosnian question is purely an European question, «although primarily concerns Austro-Hungarian interests». Andrassy reminded the Congress that the Eastern War began in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Over 200.000 people fled from Bosnia and Herzegovina into Austro-Hungary. These people, who have left their homes, have been living for three years on Austro-Hungarian welfare, consuming 10 million florins. Andrassy went on to denounce idea of autonomy of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In principle, according to him, it cannot be realised under conditions of antagonistic interreligious relations and the unsolved agrarian question. For that reason the situation in Bosnia can be settled by a «strong and neutral power», like Austro-Hungary. At the end of his speech, Andrassy indirectly warned that Austro-Hungary would not allow the creation of some great Southslav state. «The Austro-Hungarian government must devote great attention to the geographical situation in which Bosnia and Herzegovina would find itself due to territorial changes which would follow the new demarcation of Serbia and Montenegro. The consequence of bringing closer the borders of these two principalities along the roads leading to the East shall be crucial for the commercial interests of the Monarchy».

In accordance with previous agreement, the English delegate lord Salisbury submitted a formal proposal to the effect that Bosnia and Herzegovina should be occupied by Austro-Hungary. He warned about the antagonism among the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which «caused the rebellion, brought the war and destroyed Turkey». These contradictions are at the moment in no measure lesser than three years ago. He also opposed the creation of one Southslav (or Yugoslav) state. If «a significant part of these provinces was to fall into the hands of neighbouring principalities, a chain of Southslav states would be created, extending almost across the whole Balkans with their military force they would endanger the territories lying to their South». Such a state of affairs would, beyond any doubt, represent a greater menace to the independence of Turkey than anything else. This menace would exist if the Ottoman Empire were allowed to defend these two distant provinces. Out of these reasons the British government, «proposes to the assembled powers, the occupation of province of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its governing by Austro-Hungary, which is for the Congress to decide».

On the behalf of Germany, Bismarck instantly backed this proposition. He stated that it was dangerous to have the illusions as to the possibility of improving

the situation if the reforms were to be implemented in Bosnia through the existing institutions. That could be done only by a strong force. France and Russia also backed the proposed occupation. The delegate of Russia, however, added that his positive vote concerned and was limited exclusively to the proposition of Lord Salisbury. Italy was initially against the occupation, to which it was encouraged by the Ottoman delegates. The Italian delegate count Corti soon relented, as Andrassy severely reprimanded him in a short verbal duel: «Austro-Hungary takes and voices the European standpoint by the occupation of Bosnia».

The Ottoman delegates, led by the learned Greek Phanariote Karatheodori-pasha were against the occupation stressing particularly that «Bosnian Muslims resolutely demand to remain under Turkey and that the Porte has prepared the necessary reform». Thereupon they were harshly attacked by Bismarck. He told them that owing to the Berlin Congress Turkey was not confronted with the full application of the San Stefano treaty. The record of the Congress was left open for Turkey to sign it later on. A pressure was put on Ottoman delegats in the congress lobbies in order to make them accept the decission of other powers Disraeli, «as an old friend and publicaly acknowledged defender» told them that their refusal can ruin the entire plan of the British policy in Berlin. In the meantime Lord Salisbury gave them lectures on the blindness of the Porte towards own intersts.

Realizing that they were totally alone, the Ottoman delegates, having received instructions from Istanbul at the beginning of the session on July 4th, read the statemnet according to which they accepted the decision of the Congress. This decision is formulated in the well-known article XXV of the Berlin treaty. This article defined the Austro-Hungarian occupation mandate as the right to occupy and administer the provinces of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

The Ottoman power in Bosnia and Herzegovina was actually overthrown after nearly 450 years on July 27, 1878 in big riots that broke out, first of all in Sarajevo, but also in many other towns across the country. As the result of these riots, actually a populist putsch, a kind of people's government was formed, which organized and led the armed resistance against the Austro-Hungarian troops. These troops started to enter into Bosnia and Herzegovina on the 28th of July where they met very fierce resistance, mostly of indigenous Muslim population. After nearly three months and many battles, the last centers of resistance were supressed on October the 20th, when the whole country was occupioed and pacified. To achieve this aim Austro-Hungary had to mobilize 200.000 of soldiers, what was one third of its total military capacities of that time.

From the commencement of its rule, Austria-Hungary desired to creat the impression that its administration represented a radical change from Ottoman political and economic practice. However, because of the constitutional and political circumstances of the occupation or for administrative and technical reasons, the break with Ottoman administrative and financial practice, and especially with existing legal system, could not be made precipitately. Austro-

Hungary immediately adopted many Ottoman laws, particularly those which regulated agrarian and property relations. These regulations gradually were replaced by new Austro-Hungarian laws. Austria-Hungary manifested its most vigorous normative activity in financial, customs and tax affairs, since the elements of such a policy (like, a common customs zone, currency, monopolies etc.) were considered the basic instruments for the gradual incorporation of B-H into the Monarchy.

Austria-Hungary believed that by consolidating its rule in B-H it would strengthen its position on the Adriatic coast, hold the small Slavic states of the Balkans under its control, and secure for its capital a region exceptionally important in terms of natural wealth and general economic potential. Despite all efforts, the complexity of the problems which from the inception of its rule Austro-Hungary faced in B-H, as well as the general development of political conditions in the Slav South, made lasting consolidation in occupied country impossible. Although in the course of four decades of government Austria-Hungary played the role of a powerful arbiter in the public life of B-H, it did not succeed in achieving lasting realisation of a single one of the goals of its policy there.

But despite of this Austrian failure it is important to say that from Bosnian point of view forty years of Austrian rule and administration confirmed and consolidated to the great extent the Bosnian statehood and polity. But that is another topic.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE’S POLICY IN BOSNIA and HERZEGOVINA . (Between 1805-1815)

Mirgul Eren Griffe*

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE AND HIS MOTIVATIONS.

Napoleon Bonaparte was born on August 15th 1769 in Corsica. After sixteen years of struggle and difficulties, he put on uniform of sub-lieutenant at the Military Academy in Paris. He became Brigadier and General in Chief in 1794 thanks to his victories and his qualities of strategy during the Franco-Italian wars and he was appointed by the members of the “ French Public Peace Committee “

First Consul; he finally became “Emperor of the French “ in 1804.

From the ones who approached him, it is confirmed that Napoleon Bonaparte had a ferocious ambition and wished to become a great captain. His ambition was not only limited to Europe that he wanted to unite under the French power, but much far away, till the Middle and Far East. He wanted to conquer the world. Unconsciously, he was haunted by the destiny of Alexander the Great.

The first example of his great ambition combined with his personal attraction for Middle East and Far East was when, still Brigadier, he asked to be posted in the Ottoman Capital. In a report in which he was emphasizing the importance of the Straits, he said that “ He could cope with Russia and Austria if he could convince the Ottomans to restructure their army according to modern warfare with a well trained artillery (his specialty) protecting the Straits and supporting the French. “

At that time, this request was refused to Bonaparte who, later on, engaged his country in numerous wars against his main enemies in Europe; Austro-Hungarian Empire, Russia and Prussia on ground, England on sea.

From the end of the 16th century, France, after losing its American colonies to England, was looking over the Mediterranean and Indian seas. France, with a population of thirty millions, intended to turn the Mediterranean sea into a French lake to increase a non-sufficient trade. Napoleon continued the French policy of expansion towards open seas and after submitting the Venetian Republic in 1797, signed the treaty of Campo-Formio (1) with Austrians. As a result of this, he organized the invasion of Corfu and Zenta keeping in mind to control of East Adriatic.

* Secretary-General of the Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina Friendship Association

An other example of his ambition as well as of his attraction for the Middle and Far East was his expedition to Egypt. This risky expedition was allowed by the

“Directoire “ probably because they wanted to get rid of this already too powerful consul. But for Bonaparte, Egypt was a first step, an “ Echelle” as it was called in the past. He clearly showed this when he was stopped in Saint Jean d’Acre (Akka) in Syria by the Bosniak dominated army of Djézzar Ahmed Pasha, himself of Bosniak origin, writing later on that “this failure as made him missing his destiny. ” “Should I have reached İstanbul and Indies, I should have changed the face of the world.” said Napoleon quoted by Emmanuel de Las Casas in its “ Memorial de St. Helene “ during his exile in the St. Helene’s Island. In Syria, he was inquiring about the roads which may lead him to the Extreme East. He intended to use the Catholic and Druze population of Syria to move towards İstanbul, but he was certainly aiming India after İstanbul. After this expedition so rich on the scientific point of view but disastrous on the military side, after Lord Nelson destroyed the French Fleet in Aboukir, far before Trafalgar, Napoleon Bonaparte understood that England will reign over the seas and that his power would be on the land.

An other parameter that directly or indirectly influenced the character of Napoleon Bonaparte is that he was a product of the French Revolution. The ideas of the inspiration fathers such as Voltaire, Rousseau and Diderot began to be known in the world. As a consequence, some people were thinking of a political system based on a balance between the ruling authority and the people’s personal rights and freedoms. It is even said that the famous Jacobins such as Marat, Danton, Robespierre, Diderot, who were members of the French Freemason lodges, had influenced the local lodges present in the Balkans since 1764. As far as nationalism is concerned, Napoleon Bonaparte used intelligently this feeling of the freedom, encouraging the people to fight against the different empires, but of course, under the French umbrella. His motto was not the same as that of the Freemason lodges “One state for each nation”?

At last, Napoleon Bonaparte, continuing in this domain the internal policy of the French Kings and following also the “Jacobinism” of the French Revolution, organized a centralized State and centralized army that he tried to impose as an example to the different countries.

These hereunder motivations explain the attitude of Napoleon Bonaparte versus the Ottoman Empire and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AT THIS TIME

France was the first European power that gained trade privilege, the Capitulations, from the Ottoman Empire as a result of a close friendship during the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent and of the Grand Vizir Sokollu Mehmet Pasha. France kept close relations with the Süblime Porte and the Ottomans received help

from France during the Louis XIV.'s reign and the Revolution. As an example, the Nizam-ı Cedid (New Order) Army founded in 1792 was trained by 600 French officers and experts.

The decline of the Ottoman Empire which began after the defeat of Vienne, then with the treaty of Carlowitz in 1699, was total at the beginning of the 19th century due to economic inadequacy. At this period, the Ottoman Empire was still including the quasi-totality of Balkans. The Sultans Selim III, Mustafa II and Mahmut II tried to inaugurate a new economic policy which was not successful and to reform the Empire. During the Napoleon's reign, the Ottoman Empire changed 3 Sultans and 9 Grand Vizir's. The necessity for the Ottoman Empire to reform itself and to have a powerful army was coming from Russia who, having started to reform their military and civil life before the Ottomans, was gaining power in Europe and in the Balkans. The help supplied by the Western powers, namely England and France, to the Ottomans, was not efficient for two reasons: the process of modernization of the Ottoman Empire was too late and the help supplied was more for the profit of the two European countries.

POLICY OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE VERSUS THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

Napoleon Bonaparte understood rapidly that the Ottoman Empire was at the brink of disintegration but he was not forgetting that İstanbul was the control point of the Straits and the gate to the Indian Gulf and to Indies. We have seen that his proposal concerning İstanbul and modernization of the Ottoman army when he was Brigadier was refused. He changed his strategy and started to interest himself to the East Adriatic sea. For this purpose, he sent secret agents into the Ottoman Balkanian territories such as Ioania, Janina (Albania), Skopje (Macedonia) as well as in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their missions were to create sympathy and win the local Pashas to the French side. His aim was to find support among those powerful Pashas in order to encourage the nationalist ideas which could speed up the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. His more precise aim was to get permission for the French Army to cross from their territories in direction of İstanbul. The answers of the Pashas being not satisfactory, he decided to use the Mediterranean road and set up his expedition to Egypt. After the military disaster already mentioned, Napoleon Bonaparte was convinced that he could not reach İstanbul and the Far East by sea. Therefore he spent all his energy to conduct his military operations in Europe and in the Balkans. Later on, through what he called "The Illyrian Provinces" that he conquered, he became neighbour of the Ottoman Empire, more precisely, of the Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During the 1801-1805 period, France benefited of a neutral stand from the Ottoman Empire. From 1805-1814, the relations between the Süblime Porte and France became friendly, Napoleon offering his help to the reforms in the civil and military areas. This helped was received with a little suspicion but apparently with

the best welcome by the Süblime Porte at least as long as Napoleon Bonaparte was victorious in Europe. Let us mention that, at that times, several wives and mothers of the Sultans were of French origin (2) such as Martha Aminee de Rivery, wife of Abdulhamid I and cousin of Josephine, Napoleon's wife. His direct orders to the General Sebastiani who was his ambassador in İstanbul in 1806 were as follows. "Reassure the Sublime Porte about the French occupation of Dalmatie, decrease completely in their mind the Russian threat about the Straits, discredit totally England." In one of his letters, General Sebastiani was saying himself. "I shall never support any rebel to the Süblime Porte." The preliminary orders given to the French Consul P. David put in Travnik in 1806 were as follows. "Don't do anything which could put in the mind of the Süblime Porte that the Emperor would like to enter with an army within their States."

However, Napoleon could not accept the various diplomatic and military actions of Russia and England concerning İstanbul and the Bosphorus. In Tilsit in 1807, during his meetings with the Tsar where they were sharing the Ottoman Empire, the Tsar suggested that İstanbul be left to Russia. Napoleon Bonaparte's reply was as immediate than negative: "İstanbul would make an Empire by itself, and the way of Marseille passes through the Straits." In a letter written to the Tsar in February 1808, Napoleon was continuing his dream "I keep İstanbul and the Straits. From there, we both are going to the Euphrates and arriving to Bagdad. Then, we are on the road to Indies."

As a partial conclusion, we can say that Napoleon's policy versus the Ottoman Empire has always been led by two principles:

- Importance of the Straits.

- Importance of İstanbul as a gate to the Far East.

In a first period, 1797-1805, more aggressive against the Sublime Porte, Napoleon tried to open for his armies a land road through the Balkans, then a sea and land road through Egypt and Syria; these two approaches failed.

The second period 1805-1814 which is the heart of our lecture, was a period of friendship with the Süblime Porte. Napoleon managed to keep the Süblime Porte out of reach of his two main rivals in this part of the world: Russia and England. However during this time, he studied all the alternatives to take profit of the dislocation of the Ottoman Empire, including a land attack through the Balkans.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

At the beginning of the 18th century, the Bosniak leaders, most from the noble families, are benefitting of the privileged system of capitanship (3), conserved by the Ottoman Empire. So the Bosnia and Herzegovina was a kind of feudal country with "Capitans" fighting between each other to defend their lands, forts,

properties. However, there was a consensus between them to protect the borders and especially the western one which was the limit border of the Ottoman Empire. Besides this, after the defeats of the Ottoman Armies, a significant number of officers and soldiers came back to Bosnia and Herzegovina; The Sultans gave to them lands and even for some of them, the title of capitan, increasing the internal problems. The Bosniaks had a total distrust against all the foreigners surrounding them susceptible to invade Bosnia, such as the Austrians, the Russians and also the French who became neighbour of their borders.

The Bosniaks were most of the time not obeying the Pashas put in place generally for two years by the Sultans and supposed to rule the province. The Marshal Marmont (4), in his memories, gave a good picture of the two kinds of Pasha in Bosnia. "Two types of Pasha exist in Bosnia Ottoman. First, the ones who rose up by themselves to this power through "Brigandage", revolt and successive occupations of a small territory at first, then of a bigger one, then of a wider and who, having got in Istanbul by corruption titles of legitimate ownership, have cancelled by this way the scandal of their rebellion. Those pashas powerful at home, are not obeying the Sultan who is giving very rarely orders to them. In this category are; the Pasha of Scutari, Mehmet Ali pasha of Egypt, Ali Pasha of Janina, Djeddar Ahmed Pasha in St. Jean d'Acre, already quoted. Then come the Pashas of the Court sent to the submitted provinces; officers of the Sublime Porte, they come to live during 15 months, often during two and half years, sometimes during 3 years, are respected and receive a more or less important money, normally rather light, but stay foreigners to everything regarding the province and are never obeyed. They are replaced by others who are treated in the same way and the province is in the hands of the owners of the lands and of their fortified castles. When their common interests are endangered, these latest are gathering and solving the problem. So in the Pashaliks where the Pashas are powerful, the Pashas are not obeying the Sultan and in the places where the Pashas are submitted to the Sultan, they are powerless in the provinces that they are supposed to govern. The Bosniaks Pashas are in this last category. " concludes M. Marmont.

In short, at the beginning of the 19th century, Bosnia seemed to remain untouched by the nationalist movements that were taking place in the other Balkan countries. The local governors were ruling without discriminating between Muslims and the Non - Müslims. It was an Ottoman province where traditionally all people groups fought side by side to protect their mutual rights and borders. When the Ottoman Empire began to decline at the end of the 18th century and the start of the 19th century, because also of increase of taxes, Bosnia changes began; both Müslim and Non - Müslim Reia were not pleased with the new situation and a kind of anarchy more or less tolerated by the Süblime Porte was reigning in Bosnia.

NAPOLEON'S POLICY VERSUS BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.

We have seen the interest shown by Napoleon to the Balkans. England, which was holding Gibraltar (Cebelitarik) and Malta, had understood for long time that the commercial road to India passed through the Euphrates-Tigris Basin, that means through Egypt or İstanbul.

Napoleon, defeated on sea in Aboukir and Trafalgar realized that the only road left to him to reach İstanbul was a land road through the Dalmatian coast and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Hence the importance of Bosnia and Herzegovina for him. After the treaty of Tilsit (08 / 07 / 1807) Napoleon negotiating a possible sharing of the Ottoman Empire with Alexander Tsar of Russia, was keeping for him; Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Macedonia, Thrace (Trakia) and Greece, which incidentally materializes the direct land road to İstanbul and to the Far East.

Besides its key position on the road towards İstanbul, Bosnia and Herzegovina was also a challenge for Napoleon. For him, victorious in all his land battles, only a great general could conquer such a country made more hostile by its natural forts of mountains, its feudal system of capitanship and, last but not least, its inhabitants. Several times, David the French Consul in Travnik, on order coming from his Minister of Foreign Affairs, was asking the pasha of the Süblime Porte "What would be the reactions of the Bosniaks if a French army was passing through their territory?"

When the M. Marmont was appointed "Governor of Illyrian Provinces" on the 16th of November 1809, becoming by fact neighbour of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Napoleon asked him to collect all possible information about Bosnia. A detailed memorandum established in LAYBACH on the 23/10/1810 describes the interest for France to take over one, two or three zones in which Bosnia and Herzegovina could be divided, namely; Herzegovina, High Bosnia and Low Bosnia.

Simultaneously, during this 1805-1814 period, Napoleon asked the Marshal Marmont and his representative in Bosnia, the Consul David (5), to keep the best relations with the pashas and the Süblime Porte. Even from time to time, Napoleon helped the Ottomans to counter the first minority uprising of the Serbs which began in 1804 – 1806 in Serbia, spread through Bosnia and Herzegovina and grew with the support of Slave members of the Ortodoks Church. Although Djorđe Petrović Karadjorđe (6) is seen as the leader of this uprising, it was initially thought of by Petar Ičko member of the Free Masons lodge of Belgrade established in 1800. Also, after some bilateral treaties signed between France and the Süblime Porte, many French artillery, land forces officers and experts were sent to İstanbul via the Dalmatian coast and Bosnia and Herzegovina to train the Ottoman Army.

As far as that the "Captainship System" is concerned, Napoleon thought that destroying or weakening it could help the Süblime Porte to suppress the existing anarchy of Bosnia and recentralize its power. But most probably, it was

more to give an easier passage through Bosnia to the French Army, in case of necessity. Three times, the French Army under the commandement of M. Marmont acted in Bosnia and Herzegovina, against the capitans. Indirectly, they have helped the Süblime Porte to partially control the country and decrease the anarchy. But the true reasons, as it has been explained hereabove, had totally different purpose.

Napoleon wanted also to create a new road towards the East, from Constanza in Croatia to Bosnia Serai (Sarajevo), from Sarajevo to Salonique, in order to challenge the existing commercial roads via Vienne or via the sea. He was so interested by the proposal made at this effect by the Consul P. David that on the 20th of February 1811, he personally wrote to his Minister of Foreign Affairs "Open the road from İstanbul to Bosnia and put in place the Vice – Consuls where David is asking."

As a partial conclusion, we must admit that Napoleon was strongly concerned by Bosnia and Herzegovina; key control of the road to İstanbul and to the Far East.

With the "Avant Post" of his army in Dalmatia, at the border, he studied in details the feasibility to conquer or to pass through Bosnia and Herzegovina. Keeping permanently this solution in mind, he decided at the end to keep good relations with the Süblime Porte, their pashas and also the Bosniaks. (Which was difficult for the Consul David) At last, he decided to create and develop a road to İstanbul for a commercial purpose.

THE FRENCH PERFORMERS OF NAPOLEON'S POLICY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Two French high level executives of Napoleon have given all details of their actions in their respective writings

First is M. Marmont, Duke of Ragusa as he was appointed by Napoleon first as general in charge of the army of Italy. Secondly, as marshal when he was appointed " Governor of Illyrien Provinces " In his memories, M. Marmont describes his three military interventions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. First in 1808, Marmont was called by Hadji-Bey (7), Captain of Huttowa, to come and save him as he was besieged by his young brothers especially Ali Bey Rizvanbegovic (8). Marmont sent 3 generals with the troops, munitions and food to deliver and save Hadji-Bey. Interestingly, the pasha of Bosnia, Ibrahim Hilmi Pasha, informed of this penetration into his territory by a Marmont's letter, instead of becoming angry, thanked the Marshal Marmont. Let us note that M. Marmont could cleverly manipulate the unbalance in authority caused by power struggles of the capitans as the number of capitans was continually increasing in this new system of Captainship.

The second time, in 1809, the capitans of the western border under the leadership of Hadji Ali Bey had passed the border, attacked and taken different lands and forts, especially the fort of Czettin, pretexting that all was belonging to them. M.Marmont, in charge of integrity of this Croatian territory, was asking Ibrahim Pasha to react and to force the captain to withdraw. Ibrahim Pasha was unable to do anything. Marmont entered into the Herzegovina with Croatian and French troops, took and burnt Isasitch free of inhabitants. He went to Bihacz and was ready to destroy the town but he preferred to give a last chance to the capitans. He sent a letter to them saying that “ He was ready to stop hostilities if justice was given “ The capitans accept after certain time and M.Marmont mentions, in his memories the courage of Hadji- Ali Bey, the leader of the capitans, who proposed to M. Marmont to surrender himself and to come to his camp being sure to be beheaded by Marmont. It is of no use to say that M.Marmont let him alive.

Pierre David, the French Consul in Travnik from 1806 to 1814, described in a voluminous set of letters his good relations with the different pashas of the Süblime Porte. Namely Mehmet Hüsrev Pasha (who became later Captain Pasha), Ibrahim Hilmi Pasha (ex.Grand Vizir) and Ali Pasha Darendalija. After the Tilsit and Erfurt meetings dividing the soils of the Ottoman Empire between France and Russia, all the Balkans were shared. On hearing this the Bosniaks and Herzegovinans became extremely uncomfortable with the decision and asked to the Ottoman Empire to change the Bosnian Governor Mehmet Hüsrev Pasha. The Sultan complied and replaced him with Ibrahim Hilmi Pasha. When Mehmet Hüsrev Pasha was governor of Bosnia, several military treaties were signed between France and the Ottomans. He was the greatest supporter of the opening of the French Consulate in Travnik in 1806.

David had great difficulties with the Bosniaks, Beys, Ayans and inhabitants who threatened him, his family, his consulate at such a point that Consul David sent his family out of Bosnia. He left also Travnik during a while to live at the border. That caused the angryness of his Minister of Foreign Affairs who ordered him to come back immediatly to Travnik. His relations in the last years became better particularly with the Herzegovinans beys, capitans. David, happy to have succeeded to get good relations after a so long enmity was kindly accused by the M.Marmont to have encouraged them to commit their actions in Croatia. Also, this created an internal diplomatic conflict, M.Marmont receiving his orders directly from Napoleon and David from the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Consul David proposed several times to resign.

The Consul David is also describing in his letters the huge campaign of disinformation, easy at this time by lack of secure mail, spread by the enemy agents, especially the Austrian Consul and all the Bosniaks seeing the French Consul as an intruder in Bosnia. As an anecdote, David was so enthousiastic of the supposed power of the last pasha, Ali Pasha Darendelija, who had sent his troops to Mostar to submit the rebelled beys of Herzegovina in April 1814, that he wrote in one of his letters “ Ali Pasha is the only one since 40 years who was able to submit

this town “ A few months after, the Consul David recognized in an other letter that the whole Bosnia had passed on the side of rebels and that Ali Pasha Darendelija had been obliged to negociate with them.

AS A KIND OF CONCLUSION

Bosnia and Herzegovina has been of prime importance for Napoleon Bonaparte: The key – point on the road to the Straits and to Indies in his dream to conquer the world and to imitate Alexander the Great. Especially after his defeat in Egypt, he realized that the Dalmatian road via Bosnia and Herzegovina was the only road left to him. Then, keeping in mind the idea to use this road as a military passage for his army, he eventually decided to create and develop it as a commercial road with more or less success.

Besides, France convinced the Ottoman Empire that the dissolving of the feudal system in Bosnia and Herzegovina was a move into modernization. Indirectly, with his supports in İstanbul and through the limited operations of M. Marmont in Herzegovina, he managed to weaken the capitanship system helping the Süblime Porte to decrease anarchy in the province. Even though France did not succeed in separating the area from the Ottomans at the time of Napoleon. The foundations for separations were laid through these initial steps and the effect was seen in removal of the “ Capitanship ” system in 1835.

Napoleon was the greatest supporter of the Croatian nationalism. He gave to M. Marmont, as this latest is mentioning in his memories, the duty to develop the civil life, to use local civil servants, to create roads, lycees..... and to train the Croatian Army. All these actions filtered rapidly into the Balkans as well as in Bosnia and Herzegovina giving later on birth to the nationalist uprise.

At last, what is left from Napoleon Bonaparte in Bosnia and Herzegovina ? As M. Marmont is telling in his memories, “ Do the Bosniak mothers still threaten their children who don’t stop crying. Shut up or I am going to ask Marmont to come “.

APPENDIX

1- This Campo -Formio treaty damaged the access and trade of the Ottoman Empire as it all ready was because of the Carlowitz treaty in 1699. Bosnia consisted only of Bosna-Saray (Sarajevo), of the Township of Herzegovina, of Izvornik, Zachsna, Rahovice and Klis by the year 1583 when it was turned into a State. With the addition of Karka in 1611, its borders expanded to the regions in southern Slovenia where Drina, Vrabas and Una rivers ran, to the whole of Herzegovina, and to the Dalmatian coastline including some parts of Montenegro. Former Croatian lands in the west of Dinar Alps, and some lands except the harbour of Klek and Storina were given to Austria by the treaty of Carlowitz. From this date, the Ottoman Empire depended on Austria permission to pass through the Gulf of Kattora

2- At certain time, from 1717 to the Tanzimat, several wives of the Sultans were French. It was a great asset for Napoleon. Janet, wife of Sultan Ahmed III, subsequently Mihrishah Sultan, was the mother of the Sultan Mustafa III. Ida, the French wife of Ahmed III, subsequently Rabia Shermi Sultan, was the mother of Abdulhamid I. Marta Amimee de Rivery, French wife of Abdulhamid I, subsequently named Nakshidil Sultan, was the cousin of Josephine, Napoleon's wife. She mothered Mahmud II. After the death of his mother, Nache de La Bozary subsequently named also Nakshidil Sultan.

3- After Bosna was converted to Islam, the Ottoman Empire gave inheritance rights to aristocratic land owners of Bashtina and partly accepted the administration system of the former Bosnian Kingdom, granting the first Captainship in Gradditsa in 1558 and the second in Kruppa in 1565. Until the Carlowitz treaty of 1699, twelve Captainships and four Agaships were granted. This number increased through time and the last Captainship was granted in Huttowa 1802.

During the reign of Mahmut II in Bosnia in 1829 there was a total of thirty nine Capitanships under the name of Kıla-i Hakaniyye. Both the capitans and the people who worked in this system were recruited from the Janissary system. The Janissary population in Bosnia in the beginning of the 18th century is estimated to be around 75.000. The majority of the male population here were connected with the guild, some involved in active military service while the others were craftsmen. Timar and Zeamet were rare in Bosnia as in the rest of the Balkans and Anatolia. And these were rights granted to families such as Karaybeyzade, Komurdjuzade, Sherifovic, Efganovic.

In the first years of the Ottoman Empire, one had to be of Bosnian origin to be granted Capitan. Each capitanship had its own land which usually included at least one fort and one tower. Starting with Selim III, the Ottoman Empire tried hard to demolish this system based on bloodline. In 1821 Mahmut II sent an

Imperial Edict (Firman) to Djelaleddin Pasha, Governor of Bosnia with the intention of abolishing privileges of some Capitanships and local aristocrats. However

the dispute went on until 1823 when another firman was written stating that the “rights of the capitanships were rights given before the conquest of Bosnia thus should go on”

A capitanship was a military and civil structure that was bigger than the township (nahiye) but smaller than a country.(sandjak).A sandjak was administrated by local pashas called “Sancak Beyi”.There could be one to three capitanships in a sandjak..The capitanship, the offices of the agha, the military officers (Zabit) and private soldiers were passing from the father to their son following bloodline. The Capitanship consisted of minimum three and maximum ten communities.Each community consisted of minumum four and maximum nighty four persons.(Person stands for married male). These would then be divided into volunteer military sub-groups such as guards, mustahfiz, paspan, bölükbashi who led a bölük (squadron). The Capitans had civil duties such as being the sheriff (musellim) and tax collector (mutesellim) of the areas, as well military duties such as guarding the borders and keeping the public order. The Capitanship has provided Bosnian folk literature with a lot of inspiration. The battles they fought and their heroism have an important place in Ottoman history.They played a significant role in the wars of 1683-1689 and 1737-1739. The military power of these capitanships is estimated to 24.000 during the reign of Mahmut II.

4-Hadji (Mehmet Ali Bey = Hacun) Bey Rizvanbegovic, son of Zulfikar,Captain of Stolac, and Fatma Cevahir, daughter of Omer Efendi Babic of Bosna,was born in 1765 in Mostar.After his mother's death, he was raised by Malikhane Hanım, his aunt who was also his father's second wife; he was killed by his brother Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovic in 27th of February in 1832 during the action of Huseyin Captain. He was a soldier trained as a janissary. After his military training, he fought alongside with Djezzar Ahmed Pasha who was of Bosnian origin, in the battlefields of Syria,Yemen, Hicaz and Egypt.He married Fatma Hanım, daughter of Muhammed Ali Pasha Kavalalı of Egypt. From this marriage he had a son named Ismail.He left his wife back in Istanbul and returned to Stolac with his son in 1799. Before that his father Zulfikar died (end of the 1804) in 1802, he divided Stolac, his capitanship between his two big sons and his brother Hadji Mustafa Bey became the Capitan of Stolac. He was made Agha first, follown by being appointed as the Capitan of Huttowa, which was the last capitanship established by the Sultan Selim III.in 1802. This capitanship consisted of thirty nine villages.In the eight years of power struggle with his younger brothers, he was supported by Marshal Marmont of Napoleonic army, against whom he fought in Akka alongside with Dejzzar Ahmed Pasha.Hadji Bey became a senior Pasha in 1809. He was in the 30.000 strong Bosnian Army where, alongside with his young brother Omer Pasha and Halıl Ibrahim Pasha, governor of Bosnia, they united their powers with Serasker Hurshid Pasha when Belgrade was recaptured in 1813. He fought alongside with Hüssein Capitan against the Ottoman for the of semi- independance of Bosnia and he was killed in this war in 27 February 1832 by his brother Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovic who fought on the other side.

5-Galip Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovic-Stocevic-Ali Pasha of Stolac.He was born in 1783 in Stolac to Hadji Zulfikar,Captain of Stolac and Melikhane Hanım of the Babic

family. He went to Istanbul after his primary school education. He was trained as a Janissary. He returned to Stolac very rich in 1802. He had rank of Capitan of Stolac and Kapidjbashi until 1830. After his success during the first Serbian revolt, the revolt of Captain Hüseyin, and his help in stopping Ibrahim Pasha Kavalalı of Egypt in Kütahya, the region of Herzegovina was separated from Bosnia and given to him as an independent State where he would be the Vizir. He was senior Pasha, his title equivalent to today's full general. He served with success both Herzegovina and the Ottoman Empire. He was a far-sighted and just ruler. He worked hard the development of Herzegovina. The first B.O.T type enterprise of his time was started in Herzegovina during his reign. In addition to being a good soldier and administrator, he was also a good economist. He gave all his wealth to a foundation. He did not possess any property outside of Herzegovina. He married six times and got five daughters named Fatma, Emine, Uma, Habiba and Shakira. Habiba, among these, known as Habiba Rizvanbegovic-Stocevic is one of the first woman poets of the Divan Poetry. He had six sons, Hadji Hafiz Mehmet Rıdvan Pasha (Governor in Edirne, Amasya, Ankara, Urfa and Musellim and Mutesellim in Mostar), Zülfikar Nafiz Pasha, Rüstem Bey (Rifat in the Divan Poet), Derwish Bey, Halil Bey and Ferik Mehmet Ali Pasha. In 1851, he was killed by Serasker Omer Lütfi Pasha Latas and his family exiled to Anatolia on the grounds that he rebelled against to the Ottoman Empire. After his death the mistake was realized and his honor was restored. (İade-i itibar)

6-Marshal Auguste Marmont, Duke of Ragusa. 1774-1852. He was Brigadier when he went to Egypt with Napoleon in 1796. He had great success in wars in Egypt, Spain, Dalmatia and Wagram. Their roads with Napoleon diverged in 1814 and he died in 1852. The nine volumes of memories of the M. Marmont have been translated into various languages and are important sourcebooks for both civil and military historians and strategists even today.

7-Pierre David, General Consul of France in Travnik, after his journalist time, fought in Spain. Then he was appointed as Consul General of France in Travnik on the 12th of May 1806. He stayed in function till 1814. He got 6 children, 3 of them died in Bosnia. The content of his voluminous set of letters is remarkable by the faithful description of his life, day per day, of his difficulties among a generally hostile population, as well as temporarily with the French Embassy in Istanbul due to the delay of the mails. Later on he was appointed in Smyrnia (İzmir) in 1824.

8-Kara Yorgi, Djordje Petrovic Karadjordje, 1752-1817. He became rich in Austria as a result of pig trade and fought against the Ottomans under general Radic Petrovic during the Ottoman-Austrian wars. After that he fought with the Hajduks led by Dobric and Glavas and settled in Topola his own Hajduks organization. He started fighting against the terror of junior Janissaries that started in Belgrade in 1801. He organized the first Serbian revolt and on the 14th of February 1806, he dictated the articles of the treaty of Ičko. to the Ottomans, inspired by his mentor Petar Ičko. He kept fighting against the Ottomans in regions that he named Greater Serbia until 1813. His influence decreased after the Ottoman Empire came to term with Milos Obrenovic and he was eventually killed in 1817.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Kriz Üçgeninde Türkiye.M.hasgüler-B.Uludag. Anka. Istanbul. 2004.
- Napoleon. E. Ludwig. Transl.M.T.Akad. Kastas. Istanbul.1998.
- Bosna.Noel Malcom.Transl.A. Karadağlı.Om.1999.
- L'Empire Ottoman-La Bosnia.Charles Pertussier. A la Librairie de Charles Gosselin. Paris.1822.
- Travnik Günlüğü. Ivo Andric.Transl.T.Alangu.İletişim. İstanbul.1999.
- Osmanlı Padişahlarının Yaşamlarından Kesitler. Prof. Dr.Y.Y.Barış. Bilimsel Tıp.Ankara. 2002.
- The Ottoman Centuries. Lord Kinross. Mary Quili Paperbacks. Newyork. 1977.
- Yılmaz Öztuna. Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi. Cilt 5.Otüken.İstanbul.1994.
- Palmer A.Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Son Üç Yüz Yılı. Transl. B.Ç. Dişbudak. Sabah Kitap. İstanbul.1995.
- De Lamartine.Osmanlı Tarihi. Transl.. Sabah Yayınları. İstanbul.1995.
- Prof.Dr. İ.Ortaylı. Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun En uzun Yüzyılı. Hill. İstanbul. 1995.
- Hamdiya Kapidzic. Ali-Pasha Rizvanbegovic I Njegovo Doba.Akademija Nauka u Umjetnosnti BIH. Sarajevo. 2001.
- Zoran D. Nenezic. Masoni U Jugoslaviji 1764-1980. Naroda Knija. Beograd.1999.
- Laftan.The Serbs. Doerset Press. Newyork. 1989.
- Ligou Daniel. Dictionnaire de la Franc-Maçonnerie. Press Uni. France. Paris.1987.
- Denslow W.R. 10.000 Famous Freemasons.Richmond. Macoy* Masonic Supply. Co. 1957.
- Mansel P. Constantinople, City of the World Desire 1453-1924. Penguen Books. London.1997.
- Karal E.Z. Osmanlı Tarihi. Nizam-ı Cedit ve Tanzimat Devirleri. 5. Cilt. 2. Baskı. Ankara. T.T. K. 1961.
- Ami Boue. La Turquie d' Europe. Paris. 1848.
- Avec Napoleon. M.Marmont. (Memories.volume 1-5) Prep.P.Bulinge. Arlea. Paris. 2004.
- Memoires du M. Marmont, Duc de Raguse. De 1792-A 1841. M. Marmont. Paris. 1856.
- Correspondance Consulaire (1806-1815). Archiv of the French Foreign Affairs Ministry.

OTTOMAN FOUNDATIONS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA; ALI GALIB PAŞA RIZVANBEGOVIĆ FOUNDATION

Mustafa Bilge*

Incorporation of the province Bosnia-Herzegovina that is the pearl of Rumelia into the lands of the Ottoman State has been finalized in 1463 during the period of Sultan Mehmet the Conquerer. Sovereign rights of the Ottoman State continued in these lands which have gone under the Austro-Hungarian administration with the Berlin Congress and the Berlin signed in 1878 until October 7th, 1908 and ended afterwards.¹

There are a significant amount of information and documents about Bosnia-Herzegovina region as it was under the administrative system of the Ottoman State during these years. The information taking place under many classifications especially within the Ottoman Archives have been opened to the public use under the States Archives at the Prime Ministry. Such classifications like Title Deed (*Tapu Tahvir*) Registers, Fiscal Registers (*Ahkam*) (Rumelia and Bosnia), Inventory (*Ayniyat*) Registers, Complete Registers of Revenue Districts or Appanages (*Mufasssal Haslar*), Bond (*Tahvil*) Registers, Fieff (*Timar*) Registers and Military arrangement Registers (*Asker tertibatı Defterleri*) include numerous documents about this region.

Pious foundations, plans, projects and sketches as well as provincial incoming-outgoing registers are first-hand source documents on the Ottoman period for the researchers of this region.²

Following the dissolution of Austro-Hungarian Empire after the First World War, Bosnia-Herzegovina became a part of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian kingdom and this situation continued until the establishment of the People's Republic of Yugoslavia in November 29th, 1945 after the Second World War; and it became a member of the Democratic Yugoslavian Federation in July 2nd, 1944. Moslems have lived hand-to-hand with Orthodox and Catholic Christian in this region for centuries; and Islamic Foundations have been one of the factors, probably the most significant one, in the maintenance of the Moslem existence in this region.

Foundations are open society institutions in general. They are the economic dynamics of the societies. Foundations are the driving forces of the regions they are incorporated triggering their economic vitalities. It has been the same also in

* Assoc. Prof. Dr., ISAM-TDV Center for Islamic Studies

1 Mustafa Imamovic, *Pravni Polozaj...Od 1878 do 1914*, Sarajevo, 1976, Ömer Ibrahimagic; Kasim Begic, *Bosna i Hercegovina*, Sarajevo, 1977

2 General Directorate of State Archives, Directorate of Documentation Department (Publication No. 16) *Bibliography of Bosnia-Herzegovina* has been published in the form of 2 volumes. (Ankara, 1995)

Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although they had a religious appearance with regard to their contents and purposes of establishment, they were the dynamics of economic lives in the cities. Business centers and administrative centers that have been established around the mosques and alms houses have given services in two major areas. Foundations have undertaken great roles in the establishment of new cities as well as the development of the existing ones. On the other hand, they have also undertaken some functions of the State and eased its functions to a considerable degree. The topic of administrating the monetary sources on hand (monetary foundations) that will shortly be discussed in this study is one of the important aspects to be considered for the economic movement in question.³

Foundation (*Vakıf*) institutions have been very effective on the regional population during the expansion period of the Ottoman State in the Balkans. Foundation institutions involved in educational activities have performed a very important function in the transmission of knowledge.⁴

Madrasahs, libraries and hadith houses (*darülhadis*) have survived as important educational institutions of their periods with the help of such foundations.

Foundations have lived hard times in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the Ottoman period as a system and some of them could not manage to survive. There was a foundation administration comprising of a directorate and advisory councils in Bosnia in the period following 1884.

Foundations in Yugoslavia have been divided into two regions after 1936. Two councils have been established in Saraybosna (*Sarajevo*) and Üsküp (*Skopje*). Maintenance of the buildings with religious characteristics have been left to the public committees during the period of Tito.⁵

One of the most important studies indicating the situation of the Ottoman foundations in Yugoslavia is the works of art by Ekrem Hakkı Bey and especially his article published in the *Vakıflar* magazine.⁶

Furthermore, G. Elezovic⁷, H. Kalesi⁸, M. Kiel and Faruk Bilici have tried to introduce us the Ottoman works of art in the Balkans and the foundations that have been established in relation with these works in their books and articles. Research Institute on Southeastern Europe that has been established with very

3 Tahsin Özcan, "Vakıfların Osmanlı İktisadi Hayatındaki Yeri (Place of the Foundations in Ottoman Economic Life)", Framework of Ottoman World in its 700th year, special edition, Year 8, Number 25, p.130-6

4 Randi Deguilhem, "Wakf" Encyclopedia of Islam (New Edition), Leiden, 2002, Vol. XI, p. 89

5 Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Encyclopedia of Islam), Vakıf heading, Vol. XIII, p. 153-172

6 Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, "Yugoslavya'da Türk Abideleri ve Vakıfları (Turkish Monuments and Foundations in Yugoslavia)", *Vakıflar Magazine*, 1956 number III, pp. 151 – 223.

7 G. Elezovic, *Turski Spomenici*, Belgrad, 1940.

8 H. Kalesi, *Nejstarji Vakufski Documenti u Jugoslaviji na Arabskom Jeziku*, Pristine, 1972

appreciable targets and the magazines that were published in this framework (about 11 issues) are among such efforts. I would like to mention also the valuable persons who had taken place in these studies, Mr. Cengiz Orhonlu, Mr. Afib Erzen and my teacher Mr. Nejat Göyünc now departed with respect and present my regards to Mr. Semavi Eyice who have also been in that institute.

In this part of our study, I will mention the charter of foundation (*vakfiye*)⁹ belonging to the XIXth century statesman Ali Galip Pasha¹⁰, one of the Ottoman viziers¹¹ originally from Stolac (known as *İstolçe* in the Ottoman sources) who had also been a tax collector (*mutasarrıf*) once around the Herzegovina region as an example of foundation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Charter of this good example of XIXth century family foundations has been arranged in the Ottoman language. But, I have to tell a few words about Ali Pasha before all else. Ali Pasha was a very important person taking place, on the state's side, in the elimination of Janissary Corp (*Yeniçeri Ocağı*) and the establishment of Victorious Muhammedan Soldiers (*Asâkir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye*) and implementing this change¹². Toughest resistance against this change during the period of Mahmud II has been faced, unfortunately, around the Bosnia and Herzegovina regions¹³. Ali Pasha was a sagacious Ottoman statesman who has taken part against the insurrection of the Bosnia-Herzegovina province leaded by Kapudan Hüseyin Bey Gradascavic (Zmaj od Bosne, 1831) and he assisted in the protection of the union.

We will discuss two deeds of trust from Ali Pasha Foundation in this study and compare the items found in the Revenue and Expense Accounting (*Varidât ve Masarifât Muhasebesi*) in BOA (Ottoman Archives at Prime Ministry) with the figures in the main charter of the foundation¹⁴. The ones given in Tables I and II were the real deeds of Ali Pasha selected from his foundation, testament, etc. documents comprised of 6 or 7 pieces. The tables following them (Tables III and

9 The foundation is not mentioned under Ridwanbegovic heading (Encyclopedia of Islam, (New Edition), Leiden, 1995, vol. VIII/p.519-521) written by A. Popović although it is comprehensive. Such information has been published by Izet Rizvanbegovic according to the copy kept by Hüseyin Gerece family.

10 Mehmed Süreyya, Ottoman Registers (Sicil-i Osmani), SO, III/569; "Hajrudin Curic", "Ali Pasha Rızvanbegovic-Stocevic" Godisnjica Nikole Cupica, XLVI, Belgrade, 1937, pp. 201-96

11 We have found the information on Ali Pasha becoming a vizier in BOA, Register of Important Events (Mühime Defteri) Nr. 250, p. 24-5. He was in charge as a vizier between the years 1832 – 1851. The post the treasurer of Herzegovina has been given to Ali Pasha besides his vizier title. See A. Cevat Eren, Bosnia-Herzegovina during the priod of Mahmud II, Istanbul 1965, p. 136; BOA, HAT 19913.

12 Hacı İsmail Çengic and Baş ağa Recepaşic (Baş Ağa Redzepasic) have also resisted against the insurrection together with Ali Pasha in Bosnia. The insurrection has been suppressed in May 17th, 1832.

13 Ahmed Cevad Eren, publication mentioned, p.108.

14 We have added 5 tables in the end of this paper for this comparison. These are;

1. Charter (vakfiye) (introduction)

2. Charter (original)

3. Assets and Expenditures account

4. Assets and Expenditures account

5. Application of Mehmed Kamil Bey, Ali Pasha's grandson.

IV) indicate the Revenue and Expense Accounts that are important in noticing and understanding how the foundations work in compliance with the principles set when they have been established during the years passed. Such accounting documents were the ones that have been presented by the trustees of the foundation.

A little detailed comparisons made on the dates shows us that Ali Pasha has been in the judicial office at Stolac and in the position of rich agha (*zengin ağa*) around 1807. He has been rewarded with the rank of a vizier as he has kept his place on the state's side against the insurrection led by Kapudan Hüseyin Bey Gradascavic (*captain of Gradacac*) reaching its peak point in 1831 during the period of Mahmud II. During these years Stolac has become very rich generally in every part of the Herzegovina region as the capital. On the other hand, he has used the expression "I accept everything given by God (*Razıytu bimâ kasseme Allahu li*)" engraved on a seal. Charter of foundation arranged by him carries the date June 18th, 1847¹⁵ b.

Properties that have been made over to the foundation were;

The cleanest properties (*atyeb-i mâl*) assigned to the foundation among the ones under Ali Pasha's legal possession according to the Islamic rules (*Sharia*).

The reasons encouraging the establishment of the foundation were;

Ali Pasha has based his reasons and belief making him to arrange this foundation to 2 verses (*ayet*) of Koran and a hadith¹⁶. Furthermore, there were epigrams about the notion of help like "human beings shall get under their helps to others in the judgment day" and "helps will assist in the rise of human being" among such reasons. He said he has established the foundation for the sake of God.

¹⁵ See Charter Table 1.

In addition, an amount of 7,500 piasters has been left to a convent (*dergah*) in Foča by an executorial decree of testament arranged in January 1837 which do not take place here among our tables attached. According to what is written there this money should be used in generating revenues together with Dinks. It would be made at a rate of 11 to 10 and the revenues generated would be used in the payment of expenses.

¹⁶ Verses mentioned were;

(A) Verse No. 77 in the sura of Ist Kasas

(Try to win your future after death by spending

the wealth and opportunities given by God in

the direction of the God's orders)

Ilind Bakara sura, verse no. 110.

(You will find all the acts of goodness and charity against yourself and each other at the level of God.)

(B) Hadith; The book of the human being shall be closed after his death. But the books of the ones leaving a property generating revenue for goodness shall stay opened and continues to be recorded on his behalf

About legitimacy of the foundation;

In this section, you will find the opinions of Ebu Hanife who was one of the scholars and Great Imams (*İmam-ı Azam*) of Islam on foundations as mentioned in the charter. Opinions of his students (*İmameyn*), İmam Yusuf and İmam Muhammed b.Hasan el-Şeybâni as well as İmam Zufer have also taken place in this subject. Thus, it has been proved that the foundation was legal and appropriate, being in the direction of their opinions. The following are the expressions of this fact.

Properties have been transferred to the foundation anymore they can neither be sold, or be transferred by succession or be donated in any way possible. They can be used only as shown in this charter.

Who would be responsible for the administration of foundation?

Properties subject to the foundation (either movable or immovable) were not under the possession of the owner of foundation anymore. He would have the power of disposition on the properties left to the foundation as the trustee throughout his life, but this authority was limited in the direction of disposition rights granted to the trustee. Ali Pasha's sons would be the trustees after his death. This situation has been expressed as follows.

“Cihet-i tevliyet ve kitabet ve cibayet evlad-a zükûr ve oğullarım beylere ve evlâd-ı evlâd ve evlâd-ı evlatlarına.....” meaning that “responsibility of administering and collection of revenues shall be belong to my sons and their sons afterwards in succession...”.

There were three names mentioned as his sons and they were Rüstem Bey¹⁷, Rıdvan Bey¹⁸, and Nafiz Bey¹⁹. Although some sources cite the existence

17 See the Ottoman Registers (Sicil-i Osmani) for the details of Rüstem Bey's life,

II/405 He gained the rank of kapıcı başı and died after 1273/1856-7.

18 Hafız Rıdvan Paşa has become Beylerbeyi while his father Ali Pasha was still living. He moved to Anatolia and had the posts of a governor at Edirne and Ankara. He died after 1278. Sicil-i Osmani, II/402-3.

of a fourth son called Muhammed Ali Pasha, but it has not been recorded in the charter of foundation.²⁰ Muhammed Ali Pasha was not born at this time. After having married Mislicihan Hanım in 1848 and having got an other son named also Muhammed Ali, he changed the terms of the charter of the foundation.

Administration of the foundation revenues;

According to the charter of foundation predicting the election of the trustees definitely among the male children, expenses and taxes²¹ would be deducted from the revenues of foundation first, and then the balancing amount would be equally (*alesseviyye*) distributed among the male children.

Properties left to the foundation,

The foundation was related to the city of Mostar and the district of İstolçe within the Herzegovina region. Properties were including all the olive trees, Gardens (*düzlük*) and other trees as well as the water mills (*âsiyâb*) belonging to Ali Pasha within this region famous with the name “Buna”²².

It has been recorded that there were a machine park, tools and equipments as well as a Paddy Mill (Dink or Ding) among these properties²³. Income-yielding properties (*akârât*) around Buna region were also included in the properties mentioned.

19 Nafiz Bey (Pasha afterwards) was the eldest son of Ali Pasha and his original name has been recorded as Zülfikar Nafiz Pasha. See BOA, A. MKT. MVL 96/32, T. 1274. But he was called as Zülfikar bey in many documents; See BOA, Irâde Meclis-i Vâlâ, Nr. 4641. He was also called as Zülfikar Pasha (BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 13/4) and Nafiz Pasha (See attached Table No V)

20 See A. Popovic, the heading “Rıdwan Begovic” Encyclopedia of Islam, (New Edition) Leiden, 1995, vol. VIII, pp. 519-520.

21 Houses, mills, shops and vineyards were accepted as properties in the Ottoman State and they were subject to taxes. See Ö.L. Barkan, Legal and Financial Principles of Agricultural Economy in Ottoman Empire in XVth and XVIth Centuries I Laws, İstanbul 1943, p. 391/24

22 Grinding mills have been divided into 3 in Fatih’s Book of Rules and the ones operated by water were called “Karaca Değirmen”. For the mills in general, see Zeki Arkan – Abdullah Martal, “First Steam Flour Factory in İzmir”, Research Institute on Southeastern Europe, İstanbul 1998, Volume 12, pp. 1-3.

23 Ö.L. Barkan, Laws p. 329/44 reports the Paddy Mill while explaining the taxes to be received from the mills at Mora port. Zeki Arkan, mentioned article, p. 2 and 4. On the other hand, there were 117 water mills, 4 flood mills and 14 Dinks (paddy mills) in 54 villages at Manisa district during XVIth century, see Feridun Emecen, Manisa District in XVth Century, Ankara, 1989, p. 259.

Expenditures regarding foundation revenues;

Revenues that were obtained from the properties and other revenue generating resources were supposed to be spent for repairs and other expenses in relation with the mosques in Buna, especially the Ali Pasha Mosque at Mostar) as well as the persons responsible for such properties²⁴.

Job descriptions of people working for the foundation;

Imams (*Imam Efendi*) and muezzins (religious persons working at mosques) were, besides their normal duties in the foundation mosques, also responsible for the following activities stated in the charter.

1. Imam Efendi

- A. A. One yâsin-i şerif (*sura*) per day
- B. B. 3 ihlâs-ı şerif (*sura*) during other praying times

2. Muezzin Efendi

- A. A. 3 İhlâs-ı şerif every day
- B. B. One yâsin-i şerif on Fridays and religious fests.

Payments to be made to the employees against their daily works as well as the extra works as stated in the charter were as follows:

- 1. 5 “piaster”s (*kuruş*) per day for Imam Efendi.
- 2. 40 “para”s per day for Muezzin Efendi.

These payments were being made in the same rate as similar persons employed in other foundations. Imams were being paid around 5 or 6 piasters per day while the daily amount paid to muezzins was around 1 piaster or above. In addition to this, in

²⁴ For mosques, See Table (VI)

some foundations, salaries to be paid to the trustees or administrators have also been specified in the charter. But, as they were members of the families, they were taking the rest of the amount after the expenses (repairs, taxes, salaries, etc.) have been deducted. If there was only one trustee that amount was taken by him while it was equally distributed in case there was more than one trustee.

The main purpose in such foundations was their existence and function perfectly in the same way they had established for long years. For this reason, charters of foundations were being arranged in such a way that no deficiencies and ambiguities would be allowed in their activities. The cant threat "*femen beddelehu...*" has been definitely added at the end of this text. Expressions used for the people trying to change the structure of foundation apart from its targets were really threatening. The ones attempting to do these things would be religiously responsible. This expression was also taking place in the charter of this.

But, unexpected events arising from the foreign resources have been the most important reasons in administration of these foundations.

In general, the "asset and expense accounts" or, in other words, the foundation budgets presented by the foundation trustees were the best means in controlling and following up the administration of foundation according to the conditions stated in their charters.

The charter on hand has been registered in the 3rd day of Rajab, 1263 according to the to the Islamic (Hijri) calendar; in other words, in the Gregorian date of June 18th, 1847.

The information given in Annex III, BOA, EV, 15187, foundation book (*vakıf defteri*) p. 3 B includes the accounting records covering the one-year period between October 1853 and September 1854.

Information given in Annex IV, BOA, EV, 16588 foundation book (*vakıf defteri*) p. 7A includes the three-year period between August 1858 and July 1861.

In the light of the above, salaries specified in the main charter are in full compliance with the figures taking place in the accounting records that were kept.

Establishment of foundation in 1847

Foundation accounting regarding the year 1854

We have the chance of making all kinds of examinations and comparisons as accounting records regarding 1861 are on hand; but, the region has gone under the administration of Austro-Hungarian Empire 17 years after 1861 for which we have the last accounting records about this foundation. The periods of foundation activities in this region have faced a lot of difficulties following one another and the First World War has appeared in 1914.

The last document we have planned to present in this study is the ones putting forth the situation with regard to the trustees (See Table V attached). We will make our evaluation by taking a look at this document.

The document taking place in the Ottoman Archives under Prime Ministry (BOA, DH. EUM. 1. ŞB. 3/30) carries the signature of Mehmed Kamil Bey who was the son of Ali Paşazâde Zülfikâr Nâfiz Pasha regarding the year 1334 by the Islamic calendar. It is an interesting document showing that foundation revenues have ended up.

“Huzûr-ı Sam-i Cenâb-ı Sadâret penâhi'ye” Marûz-ı Âcizânemdir.

Nezd-i fehîmânelerinde malum bulunduğû üzre efrâdı kesir olan aile-i âcizânemin yegâne medâr-ı maişeti bulunan Hersekte'ki emlâk ve akarın hasılatı senelerden beri maalesef âlem-i beşeriyeti perişan etmekte olan harb-i hazır dolayısıyla muvasalanın münkatı olmasından nâşi üç seneyi mütecâviz bir zamandan beri alınamamakta olduğı cihetle fevkalade müzayaka ve zarurete giriftâr ve benâberin âdil ve müşfik hükümetimizin ve tahsisen pek muhterem zât-ı Samilerinin cenâh-ı âtifet ve sahâbetine ilticaya mecbur olarak bazı zevat hakkında ibzâl buyurula gelmekte olan âtifinin âcizlerine de teşmîli ile memleketim ile muvasalanın ilk kuşade olduğı anda tesviye edilmek üzere şimdiliğî ihtiyac-ı maişet nazar-ı merhamete alınarak tavizen mahiye münasib mikdar tahsisat itası istirhamına ictisâr eyledim.

Katıbe-i ahvalde emr u ferman

Hazret-i men Lehülemrindir”

T. 1334

Signature; Kamil, son of Ali Galib Paşazâde Nafiz Pasha

As it is well understood, the foundation that was established by Ali Galip Pasha in 1847 had been administered by himself during 4 years until he died (March 20th, 1851) and by Zülfikâr Nafiz Pasha (his eldest son) afterwards. Administration of the foundation has been transferred to two of his sons, famous writer Hersekli Arif Hikmet²⁵ (25) and Kamil Bey. But administration activities have been interrupted due to external reasons. It has not been possible to collect the revenues leading to a complete failure in administering the foundation in practice.

25 For the life and works of art of Hersekli Arif Hikmet, See Hasan Aksoy, Hersekli Arif Hikmet, TDVIA, XVII/233-5

BOA, EV, 15187, s.3B

I declare that the revenues and expenses regarding the Ali Pasha foundation affiliated to Imperial Ministry of Foundations established in the city of Mostar at the *Sancak* of Herzegovina within the borders of Bosnia, covering the one-year period from the beginning of October 1853 until the middle of September 1854, are as follows.

Nezâret-i evkâf-ı Hümâyûna mülhak evkâfdan Bosna eyâleti dahilinde Hersek Sancağında Mostar'da vaki Merhum Ali Paşa Vakfının işbu 1270 senesi Muharremi ibtidâsından, Sene-i mezbûre Zilhiccesi gayetine kadar bir senelik muhasebesi vakf-ı mezkûr mütevellisi ve ehl-i mürtazaka hazır olduğu halde marifet-i şer-i şerif ve marifet-i âcizânemle. Vâridât ve mesârifâtını mübeyyin defteridir ki ber vech-i âti zikr olunur.

A. Revenues

1. Dekâkin İcâresi (Rents, shops)	2995
2. İcâre-i Han (Rents, inn)	490
3. Def'a icâre-i han (Repeated rents, inn)	450
4. Hasılât-ı Bağ (Revenues, vineyard)	6604
5. İcâre-i Han (Rents, inn)	140
6. İcâre-i Konak (Rents, mansion)	426
7. İcâre-i Han (Rents, inn)	319
8. Defa Han (Repeated rents, inn)	400
9. Defa Han (Repeated rents, inn)	556
10. Defa Han (Repeated rents, inn)	1086
11. Hasılât-ı Asiyâb (Revenues, mills)	11.500
Total	24,966

BOA, EV, 15187, s. 3B

B. Expenditures

Vazife-i İmâmet ve Hitabet (salaries of imams and muezzins)	1.800
Rugan-ı Zeyt Lâzime-i Cami-i Şerif (Olive oil requirements of the Mosque)	0.300
Masârifât-ı Bağ (Expenditures for vineyards)	6.128
Attiyye-i zer u bişân ber mutad-ı kadim	1.840
Tamirât-ı Han (repairs, inns)	<u>0.680</u>

	10.820
Tamirat-ı Asiyab (repairs, mills)	03.554
Tamirat-ı Çardak (repairs, pergola)	00.992
Bedel-i A'şar an Hazine-i Mâliye (Taxes paid to the Treasury)	<u>00.193</u>
Masarifat-ı Bağ (expenses, vineyard)	15.559
Tamirat-ı Türbe-i Şerif (repairs, mosque)	0.4000
Tamirat-ı Deta ref'a-i Asiyab (repairs for rehabilitation of mills)	0.2547
Tamirat-ı Konak (repairs, mansion)	0.5278
Tamirat-ı Han (repairs, inns)	0.2655
Tamirat-ı Habbazhane (repairs, bakery)	00.624
Total; Expenses	<u>00.372</u>
	31.036

Revenues	24.966
Deyn-i Vakıf matlub müteveli (Debts to the Trustee of Foundation)	06.070

Ber mucceb-i bâlâ yalnız 6070 kuruş deyn-i vakf zuhur etmiş olduğu işbu mahalle şerh verildi.

(We declare that the resulting balance is 6070 piasters (kuruş))

(Table IV)

BOA, EV 16588 s. 7A

I, Ömer Ağa, the trustee of foundation, declare that the revenues and expenses regarding the Ali Pasha foundation affiliated to Imperial Ministry of Foundations established in the city of Mostar at the *Sancak* of Herzegovina covering the three-year period from the beginning of August 1858 until the end of July 1861, are as follows.

Nezâret-i Evkâf-ı hümayûn-ı mülükâneye mülhak evkafîle Hersek Sancağında Medine-i Mostar'da vâki' merhum Ali Paşa Vakfının işbu 1275 senesi Muharremulharamının ibtidasından 1277 senesi Zilhiccesi nihâyetine kadar 3 senelik muhasebesi vakf-ı mezbûr mütevellisi Ömer Ağa dahi olduğu halde bâ ma'rîfet-i şer'-i şer'îf ve ma'rîfet-ı çâkeri ile birru'ye ve vâridât ve mesârifât mübeyyin defteridir. Ber vech-i âtızikr u beyân olunur.

<u>A.</u>	<u>Revenues</u>	
1.	Mostar'da ve İstolçe'de Hâne İcâresi, sene 3; (Rents, houses at Mostar and İstolçe, 3 years)	19.265
2.	Mostar'da ve İstolçe'de dekâkin İcâresi, sene 3; (Rents, shops at Mostar and İstolçe, 3 years)	7.371
3.	Mostar'da hâne-i kebir icâresi, sene 3; (Rents, grand house, 3 years)	18.500
4.	Mostar'da ve İstolçe'de Asiyâb icâresi, sene 3; (Rents, mills at Mostar and İstolçe, 3 years)	44.100
5.	İstolçe'de kebir dink icâresi, sene 3; (Rents, big mill, 3 years)	4.500
6.	Büne'de Zeytun ma'a dutluk icâresi, sene 3; (Rents, olive and mulberry trees, 3 years)	9.500
7.	Mostar'da ve İstolçe'de Bağ icaresi, sene 3; (Rents, vineyards at Mostar and İstolçe, 3 years)	18.321
8.	Mostar'da ve İstolçe'de Habbaz dükkânı, sene 3; (Rents, bakery shops at Mostar and İstolçe, 3 years)	7.050
9.	Mostar'da ve İstolçe'de Bahçe İcaresi, sene 3; (Rents, gardens at Mostar and İstolçe, 3 years)	1.800
10.	Bir bâb kahvehâne icâresi; sene 3; (Rents, a coffee house, 3 years)	1.800
Total		142.711

B Expenditures

1. Vazife-i İmamet ve hitabet; sene 3; (salaries of imams, 3 years)	5400
2. Vazife-i Müezzîn; sene 3; (salaries of muezzins, 3 years)	1080
3. Vazife-i İmamet ve hitabet der Cami-i İstolçe; sene 3; (salaries of imams for the mosque of İstolçe, 3 years)	3003
4. Vazife-i müezzîn der Cami-i mezkûr, sene 3; (salaries of muezzins for the present mosque, 3 years)	450
5. (Ber) Be müceb-i şart-ı Vakıf İstolçe fukarasına tasadduk olunan nân-ı aziz bahası, sene 3; (donations to the poor people in İstolçe, 3 years)	24.000
6. Vazife-i Şeyh Efendi der zâviye-i Mostar, sene 3; (given to Sheikh Efendi at dervish lodge a-in Mostar, 3 years)	7123
7. Tâmirat-ı zaviye, sene 3; (repairs, dervish lodge/zaviye, 3 years)	1500
8. Hatm-i Şerif, sene 3; (given for the big session of Kuran reading, 3 years)	900
9. Rugan-ı zeyt-i Cami-i Şerif, sene 3; (Olive oil requirements of the grand Mosque, 3 years)	648
10. ma'a bağ-ı lâzime-i Cami-i Şerif, sene 3; (Requirements of the vineyard of the grand Mosque, 3 years)	600
11. Cami-i Şerife kandil, sene 3; (Oil lamp requirements of the grand Mosque, 3 years)	150
12. Haneler-i mezkûrun tamirâtı, sene 3; (Repairs, houses occupied, 3 years)	8600
13. Tamirat-ı dekaikin-i mezkûre bâ defter-i müfredat, sene 3; (Repairs, shops occupied, 3 years)	3800
14. Tamirat-ı Asiyab mezkûr, sene 3; (Repairs, mills, 3 years)	21060
15. Tamirat-ı kebir Dink, sene 3; (Repairs, grand mill, 3 years)	3200
16. Tamirat-ı Hane-i Kebir (Repairs, grand house, 3 years)	8400
17. Tamirat-ı hane ve kahvehane der Bune'de, sene 3; (Repairs, house and coffee-house in Bune, 3 years)	5550
18. Zeytun ve Dutluk çapalamak ve hudud-ı Erbaada Taş divar mücedded, sene 3; (spent for grubbing olive and mulberry trees and construction of a new stone wall, 3 years)	7440
19. Mostar'da ve İstolçe'de bağ çapalamak ve hudud-ı erbaada taş duvar sene 3;	15.100

(spent for grubbing olive and mulberry trees in Mostar and İstolçe and construction of new stone walls, 3 years)

BoA, Ev 16588, s. 7B

- | | |
|---|------|
| 20. Tamirat-ı habbazhane bâ defter-i müfredat, sene 3;
<i>(Repairs, bakery, 3 years)</i> | 3500 |
| 21. Tamirat-ı kahve hane bâ defter-i müfredat, sene 3;
<i>(Repairs, coffee house, 3 years)</i> | 715 |
| 22. Mukataa-yı Karagöz Bey vakfına, sene 3;
<i>(spent for Karagöz Efendi foundation -)</i> | 350 |
| 23. Vazife-i Nâzır Ömer Ağa, sene 3;
<i>(paid for the supervision of Ömer Ağa, 3 years)</i> | 9000 |

Total: 131.569

Revenues	142.311
Expenditures	<u>131.569</u>
Accountant	11.142
<u>01.393</u>	
9748	

10
30

Ber vech-i bala 9548 kuruş fadalaşı (fazlası) zuhur etmiş.
T. 1279
(We declare that the resulting balance is 9548 piasters).

THE INSTITUTE FOR ORIENTAL STUDIES IN SARAJEVO (1950-2005) A PUBLIC SCIENTIFIC-RESEARCH INSTITUTION

Muhammed ARUČI*

A. The History of the Institute

In January 1950, the People's Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Narodna Skupština Bosne i Hercegovine) decided that the Institute for Oriental Studies should be established in Sarajevo, capital of NR BiH. In April of the same year (1950) a decree was passed declaring this Institute to be a center of oriental studies for all the republics of Yugoslavia. According to this decree the basic tasks of the Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo were defined as: collection of the manuscripts and research into materials and literature written in the field of Arabic, Turkish and Persian literature; study of Islamic Art, general and cultural history of Bosnia and Herzegovina and other republics of Yugoslavia under the Ottoman rule. Later, the tasks of the Institute expanded in accordance with the needs of Bosnian and Yugoslavian society and the availability of the qualified staff.

The Institute was established in August 1950 by the Decree of the Government of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Uredba Vlade Narodne Republike Bosne i Hercegovine).¹ In 1967, the SR BiH Assembly passed an Act about the Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo.² In 1977 the SR BiH Assembly took over the founder's rights of the Institute.³ In accordance with the Act on Scientific-Research Work,⁴ the Institute for Oriental Studies was included into the list of research institutions under the article no. 3 as a "Public Study Institution" (Javna Naučna Ustanova). From 1st of March 1992, the Institute for Oriental Studies and its funding was given to the care of the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport, the Government of the RBiH (Ministarstvo Obrazovanja, Nauke, Kulture i Sporta Vlade RBiH). During the recent aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), the Institute, as a research institution, was declared to be an institution of special relevance for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since the Dayton Peace Agreement (November 1995), the Institute has been under the charge of the Federal Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport (Federalno Ministarstvo Obrazovanja, Nauke, Kulture i Sporta). With the adoption of the Act on the University Education,⁵ the founder's rights over the Institute for Oriental Studies and its funding were taken over by the Canton of Sarajevo. Furthermore, the Institute has been affiliated to the Sarajevo

* Fellow at ISAM-TDV Center for Islamic Studies and Instructor, St. Kliment Ohridski University

1 Službeni List NRBiH, br. 20/50.

2 Službeni List SRBiH, br. 23/67.

3 Službeni List SRBiH, br. 20/77 and 40/85.

4 Službeni List SRBiH, br. 38/90.

5 Službene Novine Kantona Sarajevo, br. 17/99.

University and has been functioning as a "public study-research institution" (javna naučno-istraživačka institucija) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Permanent solution for housing the Institute was found in 1998, thanks to the thoughtful gesture of the heads of Sarajevo University and Sarajevo Canton. Through a decision given by the Rector of the University, the Institute for Oriental Studies was given premises in the University campus where the Institute itself has started restoring the premises with its own resources, thus in the time being it has acquired its present position.

B. The Work and Tasks of the Institute for Oriental Studies

The Institute of Oriental Studies in Sarajevo is one of the most significant research bodies and centers in the social sciences in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in all the South Slavic countries, and the Balkans. Looking at the history of this institution, it is very hard to single out what the greatest significance of this centre has been, a centre with an important impact over the region for the past 55 years. Hence we can divide the work of this Institute into 2 periods:

1. From its establishment (1950) until the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), when the Institute was declared to be an institution of special relevance for the Republic of BiH.

2. From 17 May 1992 (when unimaginable tragedy in the modern history of Europe occurred and the Institute was hit by a guided shell which caused all its resources and its entire holdings to be burnt) until today, when this institution got into affiliation with the Sarajevo University.

Tasks of the Institute for Oriental Studies from its establishment in 1950 up to present are:

- to collect, classify, edit and publish Oriental manuscripts and archival materials and sources of the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Balkans,
- to study Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages and literatures, and to study their impact on the Bosnian language and culture,
- to study the cultural heritage of the Bosniaks in Oriental languages,
- to study the issues of social, political, economic and cultural history of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Ottoman rule, within the Ottoman studies,
- to study Oriental arts, first of all in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina,
- to work on the development of scientific and professional staff in Oriental studies,

- to cooperate with cognate institutions and organizations, as well as with individual researchers in the country and abroad,

- to publish the results of its scientific-research, and professional work and make them available for the public through its publications: the journal *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* and editions such as: *Posebna Izdanja* and *Monumenta Turcica Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium Illustrantia*.⁶

The tasks of the Oriental Institute have been expanded throughout time in accordance with needs of Bosnian and Yugoslavian society and the availability of the qualified staff. The internal structure and organization of the Institute was adjusted to its programs; hence the work was divided into following departments: Philology, History, Documentation, Middle East and Oriental Arts.⁷ In sum Oriental Studies Institute was meant to provide a research of Bosnian and other Yugoslavian Muslims' cultural heritage, and a study of general and cultural histories of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Balkans of the Ottoman period. Very famous scholars such as Mehmed Handžić, Safvet-beg Bašagić, Šejh Sejfudin Kemura, Ćiro Truhelka and Aleksej Olesnicki left behind enormous works of a crucial importance for all researchers engaged in Oriental studies in the Balkans, and more specifically in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

C. The Institute of Oriental Studies as an Independent Research Institution

At the beginning, the Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo was established as an independent study and research institution, with an aim to gather, preserve and research all types of manuscripts, archives, sigils and all other written works in Oriental languages (especially in Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages) in the Balkans. Assumedly, it was established to take works of the National Museum (Zemaljski Muzej) further, by storing the rich manuscript collection and archives of this Museum. Thus, all the collection of this Museum had been transferred to the newly established Institute.⁸ Academic Branislav Đurđev and his role in this initiative should not be forgotten. His persistent endeavor finally helped the Institute be established as an independent academic institution. Beside him, in the early years of the Institute, valuable contributions were also made by Hamid Hadžibegić, the first director of Isa-begova Medresa in Skopje, an expert in Islamic studies and shari'a law, and by Hazim Šabanović,⁹ an Ottomanist and a tireless

6 Amir Ljubović and others, *Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu 1950.-2000.* - The Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo 1950-2000, Sarajevo 2000, pp. 6-7.

7 Behija Zlatar, "On the Occasion of Fifty Years of Work of the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo", *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*, Sarajevo 2002, L, 9.

8 Branislav Đurđev, "Uz Prvi Broj", *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju i Istoriju Jugoslovenskih Naroda pod Turskom Vladavinom*, Sarajevo 1950, I, 5; Ibid, "Bosna-Hersek" *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, İstanbul 1992, VI, 304.

9 Avdo Sućeska, "In Memoriam - Dr Hazim Šabanović (1916 - 1971)", *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*, Sarajevo 1973, XVIII-XIX (1968-69), pp. 5-7.

researcher of Bosnian and Balkan cultural heritage. Another name worthy of mention is Besim Korkut,¹⁰ an expert in Arabic, who along with numerous literary translations also worked on processing of archival documents written in Arabic. Furthermore, Nedim Filipović, whose many works were dedicated to specific issues of the Ottoman governing system, and the last but not the least Omer Mušić, a zealous researcher of manuscripts and their literary content.¹¹ The Institute of Oriental Studies, as an independent research institution, had a rich and valuable collection of: 1. The Manuscript Collection of the Institute, 2. The Archives of the Institute (The Manuscripta Turcica Collection, The Sigil Collection, The Vilajet Archives, A Collection of Title Deeds), 3. Archival materials from other archives, and 4. The Library of the Institute.

1. The Manuscript Collection of the Institute

The Manuscript Collection of the Institute (Rukopisna Zbirka Orijentalnog Instituta), was one of the richest manuscript collections in the Balkans with its 5263 codices of manuscripts written in Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages. It was second only to the Gazi Husrev-beg Library in Sarajevo (Gazi Husrev-begova Biblioteka u Sarajevu). It covered most of theological and scientific disciplines such as manuscripts of the Qur'an, Qur'anic and Hadith studies, theological treatises, law, rites and prayers, Sufi works and Islamic philosophy. Also encyclopedias, works in all fields of natural sciences, occultism, history, geography, politics, transcripts of grammar and lexicographical works for students of different levels were among the works contained by this collection.¹² Moreover, the Collection was covering also works from the field of fiction of various Ottoman poets and a few local poets, from divans of Persian classics to single poems or some verses, prose-works, proverbs and other literary genres, as well as epistolary manuscripts and, eventually, *medjmua* as collections of a miscellaneous content.¹³ Lejla Gazić underlines, and inform us that: "A special place belonged to the

10 Muhammed Aruçi, "Korkut, Besim", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA), Ankara 2002, XXVI, 204.

11 In the same year as the Institute, a Department of Oriental Studies was also established at the Faculty of Philosophy, where professors Nedim Filipović, Šaćir Sikirić, and Besim Korkut, assisted by junior researchers, started working on the education of future Orientalists. So the Faculty and the Institute have complemented each other's activities and work in the field of Oriental studies in Sarajevo. See: Behija Zlatar, "Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu 1950.-2000.", Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu 1950.-2000. - The Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo 1950-2000, Sarajevo 2000, pp. 9-10.

12 The oldest manuscript in Arabic, not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, was kept in the Manuscript Collection of the Institute. It was a manuscript from the field of shari'a law whose transcript had been completed, as quoted in the manuscript itself, in 9th of Dhu'l-Hijja 413 AH, i.e. in 5th of March 1023 AD. See: Lejla Gazić, "Stradanje Orijentalnog Instituta u Agresiji na Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1992.-1995.", Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu 1950.-2000. - The Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo 1950-2000, Sarajevo 2000, p. 25.

13 "In terms of artistic quality, researchers' attention was particularly attracted by a fragment of an astrological writing with miniatures depicting zodiac signs, written in the 15th century, and a number of manuscripts of various law works which were especially popular in legal practice and were exceptional examples of Islamic calligraphy and miniature art, as well as collections of fetvas-legal rulings by individual muftis and kadis, of which some collections, along with the excellent calligraphy, excelled in the artistic value of their covers..." See: Ibid, "Destruction of the Institute for Oriental Studies During the Aggression Against Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992.-1995.", op.cit, p. 30.

collectors of medjmua - collections of miscellaneous content as very interesting sources for the study of many issues from Bosnian and Balkans literary and cultural past. Some of those manuscripts had already been scientifically processed and evaluated, while many of them were to be researched and presented to the public. The diversity of the content of the manuscript collection can be illustrated by the fact that it also contained a manuscript on chess, a work on the theory of music, and an erotic work from the 16th century. All those works, written all over the world from the early 11th century to the early 20th century and preserved through many world wars and devastation, disappeared in a single day, burnt down in the flames of hatred towards this treasure of priceless and irreplaceable works. It will never be possible to completely measure the scope of loss for civilization not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina but in the whole world, since together with the manuscripts in flames there also vanished their catalogue cards and the Inventory Books with the lists of manuscripts. The only remaining traces to bear witness to some of the manuscripts have been the scientific and expert papers based on them and published catalogues of manuscripts from particular fields, while the ones that had been prepared, but not published due to the lack of finances, also disappeared in flames".¹⁴ Looking at Bosnia and Herzegovina's literary and historical heritage, one can see that the most valuable collection was works written by local Bosnian authors, which contained a number of autographs. Some of them are: works of Fadil-paša Šerifović, Salih Sidki Hadžihusejnović Muvekkīt, Mustafa Ejubović - Šejh Jujo, Hasan Kaimija, Sabit Užičanin, Mehmed Mejlija, Hasan Kafija Pruščak, Muhamed Musić Allamek, Omer Novljanin, and many other authors from all fields of theology, law, history, literature, linguistics, lexicography, geography, politics, mathematics, medicine, and so on.

2. The Archives of the Institute

The Archives of the Institute for Oriental Studies used to house historical materials collected in the time of long Ottoman rule in the Balkans over the centuries. Original copies of the Archives were classified in four collections that were kept separately in Archive records: The Manuscripta Turcica Collection, The Sigil Collection, The Vilajet Archives, and a Collection of Title Deeds.

a) The **Manuscripta Turcica** Collection used to hold 7156 documents from the period between the 16th and 19th centuries. These documents were as following: fermans (ruler's orders), berats (diplomas, decrees), bujuruldijas (written orders) from the Bosnian valis, court rulings, financial documents, various reports, excerpts from summary defters (tax-registers), and some other documents. All these documents were original sources which were also used by local and foreign historians, especially by those who studied the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Balkans. Furthermore, some of the above mentioned fermans and berats, "in addition to their irrefutable historical value, also had extraordinary artistic merits, as they mostly had been written with artistic merits in a polychromatic text

14 Lejla Gazić, op.cit, p. 31.

writing technique for such documents, especially of the tugra (monogram) as an obligatory element of the berat (the sultan diploma)".¹⁵ This collection was covering also many original documents about the construction and repair of fortresses, roads and other buildings, documents on mining, taxes, revolts, documents on attacks of hajduks (bandits) and pirates. Additionally, it was covering many unique documents testifying the unity and cooperation of all religious groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Balkans, documents about relations of the Ottoman Empire with other states, and some reports about the current conditions in those countries. The collection had also some published documents from press such as some samples of various newspapers dating from the 19th century, some of which were banned from distribution. In addition to the inventory books, there were registers for all these documents, card-files of proper and geographic names arranged chronologically and thematically. Unfortunately Serbian attacks to the Institute, caused all this information to be vanished together with these documents.

b) The Sigil Collection (Zbirka Sidžila): The Sigil Collection of the Institute covered the local courts' protocols, first rate sources for the study of local history of particular regions, consisting of 66 sigils or their fragments from the period between the 17th and 19th centuries. Among them there were 17 sigils of Travnik kadis, 10 sigils of Ljubinje kadis, 9 sigils of Mostar kadis, 8 sigils of Blagaj kadis, 4 sigils of Fojnica kadis, 3 sigils of Zenica naibs (deputies), and 2 sigils of Trebinje and Duvno kadis each, and 1 sigil of Jajce, Tešanj, Gračanica, Prozor, Prusac, Skopje, Bijeljina and Ljubuški kadis. Additionally, there were: a sigil of a Prijedor naib, sigil fragments (court records) of a Visoko kadi from the second half of the 18th century, and sigil fragments of a Sarajevo kadi from 1775 and 1776.¹⁶

c) The Vilajet Archives (Vilajetski Arhiv): The largest storage of the Archives before Bosnian war (1992) was the Vilajet Archives (Vilajetski Arhiv) which used to cover 200.000 documents together with materials from the last thirty years of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This part had documents which were received by the Vilajet Administration from the Central Administration in Istanbul, also documents sent by this Administration to lower administrative units and those received from them. It should be mentioned that senior research fellows and experts, who studied the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the history of the Balkans, benefited a lot from those materials. Hence, it was possible for them to research many issues of the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the second half of the 19th century, such as: administrative organization and the system of filing documents, political situations and conflicts with neighboring countries, internal riots, tax system changes, establishment of postal and telegraphic lines, construction of railways, development of education, health conditions, livestock raising and forestry, in other words many important economic activities of the

15 Lejla Gazić, op.cit, p. 31.

16 See Lejla Gazić, , op.cit, p. 32.

period, and many other topics. We have information that these materials had been classified according to year (from 1852 to 1878), and a part of the documents recorded in Inventory Books were shown by registers and thematic files. Unfortunately, they were all destroyed in the fire of 17th of May in 1992, the day which is unforgettable for the researchers of this region.¹⁷

d) A Collection of Title Deeds (Zbirka Tapija): The Institute had also a list of original materials containing a collection of Title Deeds (documents on land ownership) in the territory of all kadiluks in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the second half of the 19th century. These documents on land ownership were showing the owner's name, type of land and the area it covered. These materials and documents on land ownership had been classified only according to year and kadiluk, but they had not been processed in archives before destruction of the Institute and the fire of 17th May 1992.¹⁸

3. Archival materials from other archives

Beside its original archival materials the Institute also had photocopies and microfilms of materials that belonged to other archives and institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, other republics of former Yugoslavia and abroad. This storage was holding copies of many extensive and summary defters (tax-registers) that had a special value for a historical research of Bosnia and Herzegovinian sanjaks recorded in the period from the 15th up to the 17th century. It had also other defters of other areas from a wider territory of the South Slavic countries and the Balkans, such as: Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Kosova and Hungary. Some of them are 25 copies of the Bosnian Sanjak (from 1469 to 1640) and 8 defters of the Herzegovinian Sanjak (from 1477 to 1582). In addition there were kept photocopies of Sanjaks of: Smederevo - 23, Zvornik 17, Pakrac and Požega - 15, Srijem and Montenegro - 10 each, Kruševac - 7, Segedin and Vučitrn - 6 each, Klis - 5, Vidin - 4, Prizren and Niš - 2 each, and for Ohrid and Braničevo - 1 each, as well as 10 defters of the Eyalet of Buda.¹⁹ In this storage other important materials worthy of mention were photocopies of *muhimma defters* (primarily from the area of Bosnia and partly from neighboring areas), in which all Imperial orders –pertaining to important issues and events related to this part of the Ottoman Empire- had been registered. It should be noted that these materials were originally from Turkey. This collection of photocopies also used to contain documents from other archives and libraries abroad, such as archives and libraries of Zagreb, Dubrovnik, Skopje, Vienna, Paris, and from several institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, Mostar, Fojnica, and others). The fire of 17th May 1992

17 Lejla Gazić, "Stradanje Orijentalnog Instituta u Agresiji na Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1992.-1995.", op.cit., Sarajevo 2000, p. 27.

18 Lejla Gazić, op.cit., p. 27.

19 Ibid, p. 27.

destroyed all these photocopied and microfilmed materials together with inventory lists and registers.²⁰

4. The Library of the Institute

The Library of the Institute (Biblioteka Orijentalnog Instituta) was also one of the most famous research libraries in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It covered over 10.000 titles, and over 15.000 books. Many of them had been published in more than one volume and kept in more than one copy, directly or indirectly related to Oriental studies. All of senior experienced research fellows and experts could find here local editions, encyclopedias in English, French, German, Arabic, Turkish, bilingual and multilingual dictionaries of Oriental and European languages, catalogues of Oriental manuscripts of the world's best known collections, biographies, bibliographies and lexicons. Additionally, the Library contained all world-recognized journals, and complete local periodicals related to Oriental studies and to this institution, such as: journals of history, archives' administration, literature, linguistics, law, philosophy, library science, arts, folklore, and others. This library used to receive materials through exchanges with a large number of institutions in Yugoslavia and abroad. In addition, the number of local and foreign journals in the Library was over 10.000 copies. The Library was a meeting place for many scientists, professionals; PhD candidates, master students, specialist trainees and other students. Unfortunately, this library was also completely destroyed in the fire of 17th of May in 1992, a black day in the calendar of science and research.

The storages of the Library, which were completely destroyed, have been gradually replenished, so that today they already have a significant number of encyclopedias, dictionaries, manuscript catalogues and other manuals in Oriental and European languages, many books, and references related to Oriental studies. The replenishment was made possible by courtesy of some institutions both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and abroad who have donated their own and other reference editions. Some of the countries and their governments, ministries or state institutions who have supported this Library either financially or by providing

20 Lejla Gazić informs us that: "It is owing to the understanding and kindness of the executives in the Government Archives in Istanbul and the General Directorate of the Archives of the Republic of Turkey in Ankara that today the Institute for Oriental Studies is again in possession of many photocopies and microfilms of archival materials about Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose originals are kept in the institutions of the Republic of Turkey. Also, thanks to the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who allowed the Institute for Oriental Studies to use their collections of photocopies of the Ottoman documents, now we keep here the documents copied in some of the Archives in Turkey, as well as the documents from the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Croatia in Zagreb, the Historical Archives in Dubrovnik, the Provincial Office of Herzegovina Franciscans in Mostar, and from some other institutions. So, the Institute is now again in a position to work on processing all archival materials, and the first results of that activity can be seen in the published and prepared editions. See: Lejla Gazić, *Destruction of the Institute for Oriental Studies During the Aggression Against Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992.-1995.*", *Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu 1950.-2000.* - The Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo 1950-2000, Sarajevo 2000, p. 34.

books and journals are: Prof. Dr Fuat Sezgin, director of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Studies in Frankfurt, with a donation of important manuals for the library. His Institute also extended their hospitality for a staff member of the Institute for Oriental Studies in order to enable him to complete preparations for publishing the *Katalog Rukopisa Orijentalnog Instituta - Lijepa Književnost* (The Manuscript Catalogue of the Institute for Oriental Studies – Belles Lettres). Another important donation for the library came from the Kingdom of Sweden's Government, thus enriching the Library's storages with a number of books bought from second-hand bookshops, which could not have been found otherwise. The largest support for the replenishment of the Institute's Library came from some organizations and individuals from the Republic of Turkey, first of all from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (TC Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı), Children's Waqf (Çocuk Vakfı), IRCICA (Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture – Istanbul) and the Archives of the Government Presidency (TC Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü). Other organizations, both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and abroad who joined the campaign of restoring the library by either financial support or book donations are: the National Library in Paris, the National Library of Algeria, Göttingen University, Cambridge University Library, the "Cyril and Methodius" National Library in Sofia, and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

D. The Institute's Organizational Structure and Activities

The Institute for Oriental Studies' structure -according to its operational programs- was organized in following departments: Philology, History, Documentation, Near and Middle East Section and Oriental Art Section. The current organizational structure of the Institute is the following:

1. Department of History, which prepares and publishes historical sources for the history of the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Before the Bosnian war (1992) it used to cover also the history of other peoples living in former Yugoslavia. Moreover, the Department works on research projects pursuing a number of studies in this field.

2. Department of Philology, which organizes and publishes Oriental manuscript materials and other sources related to the cultural history of the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina and old republics of Yugoslavia, studies the cultural heritage of BiH and the Balkans in Oriental languages. In addition, this Department is pursuing studies on Arabic, Turkish and Persian languages, and their traces in Bosnian language and culture, some of which have been published.

3. Department of Library and Documentation consists of archives, a manuscript collection, a technical library and storages of Institute publications, as well as other documentation and information materials and resources. Thus, this Department collects, arranges, keeps and pursues research on archival and manuscript materials, books and journals.

4. Between these three departments, there is possibility of reactivating a Section for Oriental Art, which would study Oriental art and material culture, primarily in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This Section from its first years had worked on Oriental art and material culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Balkans. This Section for Oriental and the Near and Middle East Section were only occasionally active.

The management bodies of the Institute are the Management Board consisting of five members, while the Research Council is the professional body. Directors of the Institute, since its early years, have been famous researchers, professors and academic workers in its fields of activity. The first director was Academic Branislav Đurđev (1950-1965), then Nedim Filipović (1965-1969), Avdo Sučeska (1969-1974), Sulejman Grozdanić (1974-1989), and Ahmed Aličić (1989 - May 1992). At this point, unfortunately, this period of 42-years long active function of the Institute came to an end when in 17th of May in 1992, an unimaginable tragedy of the modern history of Europe occurred and the Institute was destroyed together with all its resources and its entire holdings. Directors of the Institute in this period were Lejla Gazić, MA (May 1992 - March 1994), Fehim Nametak (March 1994 - January 1998), and Behija Zlatar since February 1998.

The priority task of the Institute for Oriental Studies has been to collect archival and manuscript materials, to edit and publish them. Recently the Institute has been working intensively on the replenishment of these resources. Currently, a number of projects from the Institute's fields of activity are underway. So, historical materials relevant to the study of Bosnia and Herzegovina's history are being under process, i.e. the primary sources, defters and sigils Defter of the Zvornik Sanjak from 1548, Defter of the Sanjak of Klis from 1550, a Summary Defter of the Bosnian Sanjak from 1516, Sigil of the Foča Kadiluk 1868 - 1885, historical studies,²¹ studies in Bosnian-Muslim cultural heritage,²² and Arabic literature.²³ At the level of postgraduate studies in linguistics, three junior researchers have done their MA dissertations.²⁴ The focus of activities in the Institute was initially on research in history and on publishing historical materials. Later, the work extended to a research in literature by local authors who wrote in Arabic, Turkish and Persian, and to certain issues from contemporary Oriental philology where linguistic and literary research have proved to be of interest of Oriental studies in a more general perspective.

21 Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1463 - 1878.

22 The role and importance of Dr Safvet-beg Bašagić in the study of the literature of the Bosniaks in Oriental languages, Chronicle of Mehmed Caliph.

23 Seven Golden Arabian Odes.

24 These dissertations are: Contrastive Analysis of Phraseological Materials in the Turkish and Bosnian languages, Contrastive Research into Verb Aspects in Persian and Bosnian, and Contributions to Contrastive Method in Linguistics: the Bosnian-Turkish Teacher by Ibrahim Edhem Berbić. In addition, two more researchers have attended a postgraduate course in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Ottoman period.

The Institute for Oriental Studies, as a regular activity, has organized scientific conferences. In this way, as a part of preparations for "The History of the Literature and Art of the Arabs, Persians and Turks project" ("Istorija Književnosti i Umjetnosti Arapa, Perzijanaca i Turaka") in 1973, a scientific conference "About Arab-Islamic Culture" ("O Arapsko-Islamskoj Kulturi") was held, and in 1978 the Institute was one of the organizers of "The III International Symposium on Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Studies" ("Međunarodni Simpozijum za Predosmanske i Osmanske Studije"). The Institute also organized a scientific conference on "Bosnian Literature in Oriental Languages - Results and Perspectives" ("Naša Književnost na Orijentalnim Jezicima - Rezultati i Persepektive") in 1989. In 1991, in occasion of its 40th anniversary, a symposium titled "The Spread of Islam and Islamic Culture in the Bosnian Eyalet" ("Širenje Islama i Islamske Kulture u Bosankom Ejaletu") was held. During the siege of Sarajevo and the heavy shelling of this city, in March 1993, the Institute was a co-organizer of a scientific conference called "Half a Millennium of Sarajevo" (Pola Milenija Sarajeva), in corporation with the Institute of History.²⁵ The Institute was also the organizer of a conference dedicated to the life and works of one of the most significant Bosniak scholars from the period of Ottoman rule in these parts, Hasan Kafija Prušćak, in March 1995.²⁶

The Institute has always been in good cooperation with other scientific and professional institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and abroad. This cooperation has resulted two important protocols: the first in 1998 with the Directorate of the Archives of the Republic of Turkey, enabling scientists, researchers and experts of the Institute to research and thus, enrich their own archive resources. The second protocol, in July 2000, a Protocol of Cooperation, was signed with the Economic, Cultural, Educational and Technical Cooperation Office of the Government of the Republic of Turkey, the Turkish Agency for Cooperation and Development (TIKA). With this Protocol, scientists, researchers and experts of the Institute were given an opportunity to work in Turkish archives. Moreover Turkish scholars together with scientists, researchers and experts of the Institute were able to process documents written in Ottoman Turkish. Cooperation of the Institute with other institutions includes an exchange of publications and journals, as a result of which the Institute's publications can be found in a large number of libraries and research institutions worldwide. Before the aggression to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Institute was in correspondence with about 120 such institutions. After the aggression these links are being re-established and also through exchanges the library of the Institute is replenishing its stocks.

25 The papers from this conference were published in a special monograph *Prilozi Historiji Sarajeva / Contributions to the History of Sarajevo /, Proceedings of the Scientific Symposium: Half a Millennium of Sarajevo*, held in Sarajevo on 21 March 1993, Sarajevo 1997.

26 The main papers were presented by staff members of the Institute and associates. The papers from this conference were published in Bosnian and English in the philosophical journal *Dijalog*, no. 1-2, Sarajevo 1995.

In the post-war period, the collection of new manuscripts for this Collection has started gradually. Therefore, today in stocks of the Institute for Oriental Studies there are a number of photocopies and microfilms of manuscripts by a number of Bosnian authors whose originals are kept in manuscript collections in various Istanbul libraries. These photocopies and microfilms of the manuscripts the Institute received through a financial support from the Government of the Republic of Turkey on the occasion of a visit by Prime Minister Mr Bülent Ecevit. In November 1998 five researchers stayed in Turkey as guests of the Federal Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport and the City of Istanbul Assembly. The Institute used this support for some other research projects, and for the stay of the researchers who during 1999 and 2000 went on with their research and work in copying archival materials in the Archives of the Presidency of the Government in Istanbul. On this occasion, important sources were photocopied in the Archives of the Government Presidency in Istanbul, the Suleymaniye, the University Library, and the Library of the City of Istanbul.

In November 1992, thanks to courtesy of executives and all members of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Institute was accommodated first in one and later in two of their rooms. With donations, first of all from the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Government of Sarajevo Canton, the Open Society Fund of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SOROS), the Peace Centre, and others, the completed projects started to be published. The Government of the Kingdom of Sweden was among the first who extended this support, just like Prof. Fuat Sezgin did. He, the director of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Studies in Frankfurt was among the first to give support and donate important handbooks (encyclopedias, biographies, bibliographies, dictionaries) for the library of the Institute. Also, with an aim to restore the archives, the Academy of Sciences and Art of Bosnia and Herzegovina gave to the Institute a collection of documents, which are very important for the study of the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This collection of documents was copied from archives of Istanbul, Vienna, Venice, Zadar and Dubrovnik. All these activities enabled the Institute to continue its research in original manuscript materials, which has always been its fundamental aim.

In addition, the staff of the Institute has published books, articles, studies, and research papers with other houses and in other journals in Bosnia and Herzegovina and abroad. Some of these works are still valuable works in certain fields in Oriental studies. Almost all of the Institute staff has spent periods in specialized training, study trips, research at foreign Universities, research institutes, archives and libraries in various cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, Cairo, Vienna, Paris, Dubrovnik, Zagreb and Belgrade.

E. The Publishing Activity of the Institute

Looking at the results of the 55-years work of the Institute for Oriental Studies, one would notice how invaluable they are.²⁷ The publishing activity of the Institute for Oriental Studies throughout this period of time is worthy of praise. The most significant ones are: 1. *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* (International scientific journal). 2. Books of the *Monumenta Turcica Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium Illustrantia* series, and 3. Works which were prepared for the *Posebna Izdanja* (Special Editions) series. According to the scientific reviews by local and foreign critics, the publishing activity of the Institute both in pre-war and post-war periods really deserves high marks.

1. *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* (Contributions to Oriental Philology)

This journal (*Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*) has started coming out immediately after the establishment of the Institute (1950) in order to publish studies pursued by the Institute's staff. From its first issue (1950) up to the seventh one the journal was entitled as *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju i Istoriju Jugoslovenskih Naroda pod Turskom Vladavinom*, and from the eighth number until today as *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*. As Branislav Đurđev has emphasized, the papers in the first number of the journal were of a similar character with that of the former Turkish archives of the National Museum, rather than with that of the future work of the Institute for Oriental Studies.²⁸ Namely, the Turkish Archives prioritized publication of Ottoman historical documents, while the task of the Institute for Oriental Studies was far wider.

This journal was registered as a Yugoslav journal and was financed by the Yugoslav SIZ (Independent Local Scientific Communities). Also members of the editorial board were drawn from all research centres of the former Yugoslavia. At the beginning it was an annual journal published every year and occasionally every second year. *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*, shortly known as *POF*, was also registered as an international journal. Brill, one of the largest European publishing houses has included this journal in its list of 30 reference worldwide journals in social sciences. In this journal only original academic research papers were published. Totally fifty three volumes have come out since its first issue in 1950. So far *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* has preserved its academic and professional profile.

Looking at past issues of POF, we come to realize the significance of this journal, the range of issues dealt with, and the large number of contributors from Bosnia and Herzegovina and abroad. Most papers have dealt with the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Balkans under Ottoman rule. They have studied

27 See bibliography of books and papers published by the Institute's researchers and fellows: Amir Ljubović and others, *Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu 1950.-2000.* - The Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo 1950-2000, Sarajevo 2000, pp. 39-96.

28 Branislav Đurđev, "Uz Prvi Broj", *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju i Istoriju Jugoslovenskih Naroda pod Turskom Vladavinom*, Sarajevo 1950, I, 5.

the literature by local authors in Arabic, Turkish and Persian, as part of cultural heritage of this region. Studies in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian languages and literatures, as well as research in Islamic architecture and art are some of the areas covered by these articles. There are also numerous translations, as well as reviews, critiques and book information from the Institute's field of activity. In 48 issues of *POF* 221 studies from the fields of history, Ottoman Studies and Diplomacy have appeared, along with 157 related to local cultural heritage, literature and Islamic culture, 62 linguistic studies, 30 short contributions, 10 translations, 21 bibliographies, and over 440 surveys, reviews of books, journals and conferences.²⁹

It is possible to divide 55-year work of *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* into 2 main periods: 1. First period from no. 1 till no 41; i.e. from 1950 until the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), when the Institute for Oriental Studies published its annual *POF* no. 41 (for 1991). In this issue papers and discussions from the conference on "The Spread of Islam and Islamic Culture in the Bosnian Eyalet" ("Širenje Islama i Islamske Kulture u Bosanskom Ejaletu") were published on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Institute for Oriental Studies. In this period this was an annual journal for all republics of Yugoslavia and their Orientalists. Almost all copies of this issue of *POF* were burnt in the fire which destroyed the Institute. 2. Second period starts from 17 May 1992 until today, when it has become annual journal for academics of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Articles published in this journal were mostly in Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian languages. Only some of them were published in English, German, French, Russian, Slovenian and Turkish languages. Among the most famous authors in this journal are: Besim Korkut, Branislav Đurđev, Halil İnalcık, İsmail Eren, M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, Ömer Barkan, Gliša Elezović, Hazim Šabanović, Hamid Hadžibegić, Fehim Bajraktarević, Hasan Kaleši, Mehmed Mujezinović, Muhamed Hadžijahić, Fehim Nametak and Behija Zlatar.³⁰ Some of the published articles in this journal in Ottoman history and Diplomacy are as following: Hamdija Kreševljaković, "Prilozi povijesti bosanskih gradova pod turskom upravom", Halil İnalcık, "Od Stefana Dušana do Osmanskog Carstva", Behija Zlatar - Enes Pelidija, "Prilog kulturnoj istoriji Pljevalja osmanskog perioda - zadužbine Husein-paše Boljanića", Fehim Dž. Spaho, "Defteri za Kliški Sandžak iz XVI i početka XVII stoljeća, diplomatski opis", Medžida Selmanović, "Berat kao diplomatska vrsta u turskoj arhivistici".³¹

29 Behija Zlatar, "Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu 1950.-2000.", Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu 1950.-2000., Sarajevo 2000, p. 11.

30 See for details: Amir Ljubović and others, Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu 1950.-2000. - The Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo 1950-2000, Sarajevo 2000, pp. 39-84.

31 See some of published articles in this journal about Ottoman history and Diplomacy: *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*, II, 115-184 (Sarajevo 1952); III-IV, 23-54 (Sarajevo 1953); XXXIV, 115-128 (Sarajevo 1985); XXXIV, 137-162 (Sarajevo 1985); XXXV, 169-209 (Sarajevo 1985).

We can also find in this journal many articles that were published in Turkish language by famous authors from Turkey. Some of these articles are: M. Tayyib Gökbiçgin, "Sokollu Mehmed Paşanın bir Talimatı ve 1572 tarihinde Bosna ile alâkadar birkaç vesika", and "Napoli kralı tarafından II. Bayezid ve Ahmed Paşa (Gedik)'ya gönderilen mektupların türkçe suretleri ve diğer ilgili iki mektup";³² Ömer Barkan, "XVI. asrın ikinci yarısında Türkiye'de fiyat hareketleri";³³ Dündar Günday, "Tahrir defterleriyle mukataa defterleri arasında mukayese", and "Başbakanlık Arşivi Genel Müdürlüğü";³⁴ Saadetin Buluç, "Elvan Çelebi'nin Menakib-namesi";³⁵ Atillâ Çetin, "Saraybosna'da Gazi Hüsrev Beğ Vakfına ait 1252/1836 tarihli bir belge";³⁶ Hasan Kolcu, "Bir Folklor Ürünü: Destan-ı Vidiniyye";³⁷ Cahit Telci, "Hamza Bâli ve Hamzavilere Dair";³⁸ and others.³⁹

Articles in *POF* from its first number have been published primarily in sections; first section is for the fields of Scientific Articles related to linguistic studies, literature, Islamic culture and local cultural heritage. The second section is for fields of History, Ottoman Studies and Diplomacy. The third section contains short contributions, translations, bibliographies, surveys, reviews of books, journals, and conferences.

2. Monumenta Turcica Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium Illustrantia

Similar to the journal (*POF*), researchers and fellows of the Institute for Oriental Studies have also published their works in the series of *Monumenta Turcica Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium Illustrantia*. This series has brought out many editions of historical sources of exceptional importance for the study of the Balkan history. So far, eleven books have been published. These books are:

-Kanuni i kanun-name za Bosanski, Hercegovački, Zvornički, Kliški, Crnogorski i Skadarski sandžak / Kanuns and Kanun-names for Bosnian, Herzegovinian, Zvornik, Klis, Montenegrin and Skadar Sanjak/. Saopštavaju / Prepared by / : Dr. Branislav Đurđev, Nedim Filipović, Hamid Hadžibegić, Muhamed Mujić i dr. Hazim Šabanović. Uredništvo / Editors / : Dr. Branislav Đurđev, Nedim Filipović i Hamid Hadžibegić. Tomus primus. Serija I, Zakonski spomenici, sv. 1. Sarajevo 1957., 211.

32 Ibid, VI-VII, 159-174 (Sarajevo 1958); XXII-XXIII, 33-60 (Sarajevo 1976).

33 Ibid, XXII-XXIII, 133-148 (Sarajevo 1976).

34 Ibid, XXVII, 277-282 (Sarajevo 1979); XXVIII-XXIX, 463-474 (Sarajevo 1980).

35 Ibid, XXX, 67-73 (Sarajevo 1980).

36 Ibid, XXXV, 163-168 (Sarajevo 1986).

37 Ibid, XXXVII, 147-158 (Sarajevo 1988).

38 Ibid, XLVI, 115-129 (Sarajevo 1997).

39 See for all details about these published articles in Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju: Amir Ljubović and others, Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu 1950.-2000. - The Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo 1950-2000, Sarajevo 2000, pp. 39-84.

-Dr. Hazim Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića. Zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine / Border-land of Isa-beg Ishaković. Sumary Cadastral Regiter from 1455 /*. Urednici / Editors /: Dr. B. Đurđev, N. Filipović, H. Hadžibegić i Dr. H. Šabanović. Tomus secundus, Serija II, Defteri, knjiga 1. Sarajevo 1964., LVI + 167 + 8 fax. + 160.

-*Oblast Brankovića. Opširni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine / Detailed Census of the Brankoviches Region from 1455 /*. Priredili / Prepared by /: Hamid Hadžibegić, Adem Handžić i Ešref Kovačević. Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Hazim Šabanović. Odgovorni urednik / Managing editor /: Avdo Sućeska. Tomus tertius, Serija II, Defteri, knjiga 2, sv. 1. Sarajevo 1972., XXIII + 378 + 1 map.

-*Oblast Brankovića. Opširni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine. (Faksimili-Fascimiles) Detailed Census of the Brankoviches Region from 1455 /*. Priredili / Prepared by /: Hamid Hadžibegić, Adem Handžić i Ešref Kovačević. Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Hazim Šabanović. Odgovorni urednik / Managing editor /: Avdo Sućeska. Tomus tertius, Serija II, Defteri, knjiga 2, sv. 2. Sarajevo 1972., XVI + 1 map + 234.

-Ešref Kovačević, Muhimme defteri - Dokumenti o našim krajevima / Muhimme Defters - Documents of our Regions / . Glavni i odgovorni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Ahmed S. Aličić. Tomus quartus, Serija III, Muhimme defteri, knjiga 1, sv. 1. Sarajevo 1985, 230.

-Vakufname iz Bosne i Hercegovine (XV i XVI vijek) / Vakufnames from Bosnia and Herzegovina (XV and XVI century) / . Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Lejla Gazić. Odgovorni urednik / Managing editor /: Ahmed S. Aličić. Tomus quintus, Serija III, Vakufname, knjiga 1. Sarajevo 1985., 278.

-Ahmed S. Aličić, Poimenični popis sandžaka vilajeta Hercegovina / The Detailed Register of the Sandjak Herzegovina Vilaya from 1477./ . Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Mr. Ešref Kovačević. Odgovorni urednik / Managing editor /: Prof. dr. Sulejman Grozdanić. Tomus sextus, Serija II, Defteri, knjiga 3. Sarajevo 1985, X + XI + 658 + /6/.

-Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka iz 1604. godine / The 1604 Detailed Register of the Bosnian Sanjak / . Obradio / Translated and prepared by /: Adem Handžić. Urednik / Editor /: Fehim Nametak. - Bošnjački institut Zürich, Odjel Sarajevo i Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, Tomus septimus, Serija II, Defteri, Knjiga 4, sv. 1/1. Sarajevo 2000., LII + 679.

-Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka iz 1604. godine / The 1604 Detailed Register of the Bosnian Sanjak / . Obradio / Translated and prepared by /: Adem Handžić. Urednik / Editor /: Fehim Nametak. - Bošnjački institut Zürich, Odjel Sarajevo i Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, Tomus octavus, Serija II, Defteri, Knjiga 4, sv. 1/2. Sarajevo 2000., 601.

-Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka iz 1604. godine / The 1604 Detailed Register of the Bosnian Sanjak /. Obradila / Translated and prepared by /: Snježana Buzov. Priredila / Prepared by /: Lejla Gazić. Urednik / Editor /: Fehim Nametak. - Bošnjački institut Zürich, Odjel Sarajevo i Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, Tomus nonus, Serija II, Defteri, Knjiga 4, sv. II. Sarajevo 2000., 652.

-Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka iz 1604. godine / The 1604 Detailed Register of the Bosnian Sanjak /. Obradila / Translated and prepared by /: Amina Kupusović. Urednik / Editor /: Fehim Nametak. - Bošnjački institut Zürich, Odjel Sarajevo i Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, Tomus decimus, Serija II, Defteri, Knjiga 4, sv. III. Sarajevo 2000., 595.40

3. Posebna Izdanja (Special Editions) series

Beside the journal (*POF*) and the series of *Monumenta Turcica Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium Illustrantia* scientific and professional papers of the Institute staff have also been published in the *Posebna Izdanja* - Special Editions - series (23 monographs). The List of Publications is as following:

-*Arapski dokumenti u Državnom arhivu u Dubrovniku / The Arabic Documents in National Archives in Dubrovnik*. Posebna izdanja I. Knjiga I, sveska 1. Dokumenti o odnosima Dubrovnika i Maroka. Priredio i preveo / Translated and prepared by /: Besim Korkut. Sarajevo 1960., 85 + 27 fax.

-*Arapski dokumenti u Državnom arhivu u Dubrovniku / The Arabic Documents in National Archives in Dubrovnik*. Posebna izdanja II. Knjiga I, sveska 2. Dokumenti o odnosima Dubrovnika s Alžirom, Tripolisom i Egiptom. Priredio i preveo / Translated and prepared by /: Besim Korkut. Sarajevo 1961., 89-186 + 28 - 41 fax.

-*Arapski dokumenti u Državnom arhivu u Dubrovniku / The Arabic Documents in National Archives in Dubrovnik*. Posebna izdanja III. Knjiga I, sveska 3. Osnivanje dubrovačkog konzulata u Aleksandriji. Priredio i preveo / Translated and prepared by /: Besim Korkut. Sarajevo 1969., 60 + 4 fax.

-Hamid Hadžibegić, *Glavarina u Osmanskoj državi / Capitation in the Ottoman State* / Posebna izdanja IV. Urednik / Editor /: Besim Korkut. Sarajevo 1966., 188.

-Dr. Teufik Muftić, *Infiniti trilitem u arapskom jeziku. Odnos oblika i značenja. / Infinitives of Triliteral Roots in Arabic. Relationship of Form and Meaning* / Posebna izdanja V. Urednik / Editor /: Besim Korkut. Sarajevo 1966., VIII + 197.

40 See: Amir Ljubović and others, op.cit., pp. 85-86.

-Bisera Nurudinović, *Bibliografija jugoslovenske Orijentalistike 1945-1960* – *Bibliography of Yugoslav Orientalistics 1945-1960*. Posebna izdanja VI. Urednik / Editor /: Dr. Hazim Šabanović. Sarajevo 1968., 242.

-*Kur'an*. Preveo / Translated by /: Besim Korkut. Posebna izdanja VII. Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Ahmed S. Aličić. Odgovorni urednik / Managing editor /: Sulejman Grozdanić. Sarajevo 1977., 720 + /11/ + 833.

-Fehim Nametak, *Fadil-paša Šerifović, pjesnik i epigrafičar Bosne / Fadil-pasha Šerifović, a poet and epigraphist of Bosnia* /. Posebna izdanja VIII. Glavni i odgovorni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Dr. Sulejman Grozdanić. Sarajevo 1980., 282 + /1/.

-Bisera Nurudinović, *Bibliografija jugoslovenske Orijentalistike 1961-1965 godine* – *Bibliography of Yugoslav Oriental Studies 1961-1965*. Posebna izdanja IX. Glavni i odgovorni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Dr. Teufik Muftić. Odgovorni urednik / Managing editor /: Sulejman Grozdanić. Sarajevo 1981., 181.

-Teufik Muftić, *Arapsko pismo (razvoj, karakteristike, problematika) / The Arabic Writing (development, characteristics, problems)* /. Posebna izdanja X. Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Ešref Kovačević. Sarajevo 1982., 295.

-Ahmed S. Aličić, *Uređenje Bosanskog ejaleta od 1789. do 1878. godine / Administrative Organization of the Eyalet of Bosnia during the Period between 1789 and 1878* /. Posebna izdanja XI. Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Dr. Ilijas Hadžibegović. Odgovorni urednik / Managing editor /: Mr. Amir Ljubović. Sarajevo 1983., 198.

-Salih Trako, *Katalog perzijskih rukopisa Orijentalnog instituta u Sarajevu / The Persian Manuscripts Catalogue of the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo* /. Posebna izdanja XII. Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Dr. Fehim Nametak. Odgovorni urednik / Managing editor /: Mr. Ahmed Aličić. Sarajevo 1986., 268.

-Bisera Nurudinović, *Bibliografija jugoslovenske Orijentalistike 1918-1945* – *Bibliography of Yugoslav Oriental Studies 1918-1945*. Posebna izdanja XIII. Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Salih Trako. Odgovorni urednik / Managing editor /: Sulejman Grozdanić. Sarajevo 1986., 296.

-Džemal Čehajić, *Derviški redovi u jugoslovenskim zemljama sa posebnim osvrtom na Bosnu i Hercegovinu / Orders of Dervishes in Yugoslav Countries Pointing out Bosnia and Herzegovina* /. Posebna izdanja XIV. Glavni i odgovorni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Dr. Sulejman Grozdanić. Sarajevo 1986., 281.

-Vančo Boškov, *Katalog turskih rukopisa franjevačkih samostana u Bosni i Hercegovini / Turkish Manuscripts Catalogue of Franciscan Monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina* /. Posebna izdanja XV. Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Dr. Fehim Nametak. Odgovorni urednik / Managing editor /: Dr. Sulejman Grozdanić. Sarajevo 1988., 155.

-Hasan Škapur - Ahmed S. Aličić, *Turski dokumenti o ustanku u Potkozarju 1875-78. / Turkish Documents of Rebellion in Potkozarje 1875-78* /. Posebna izdanja XVI. Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Fehim Dž. Spaho. Odgovorni urednik / Managing editor/ : Dr. Sulejman Grozdanić. Sarajevo 1988., 159 + 49 fax.

-Amir Ljubović i Sulejman Grozdanić, *Prozna književnost Bosne i Hercegovine na orijentalnim jezicima / Literature of Bosnia and Herzegovina Written in Oriental Languages* /. Posebna izdanja XVII. Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Prof. dr. Esad Duraković. Odgovorni urednik / Managing editor/ : Prof. dr. Fehim Nametak. Sarajevo 1995., 279.

-Amir Ljubović, *Logička djela Bošnjaka na arpskom jeziku / The Works in Logics by Bosniak Authors in Arabic* /. Posebna izdanja XVIII. Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Prof. dr. Esad Duraković. Odgovorni urednik / Managing editor/ : Mr. Lejla Gazić. Sarajevo 1996., 249 + 5 fax.

-Ahmed S. Aličić, *Pokret za autonomiju Bosne od 1831. do 1832. godine / Movement for the Autonomy of Bosnia 1831/32* /. Posebna izdanja XIX. Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Prof. dr. Ilija Hadžibegović. Odgovorni urednik / Managing editor/ : Prof. dr. Fehim Nametak. Sarajevo 1996., 438.

-Salih Trako i Lejla Gazić, *Katalog rukopisa Orijentalnog instituta - lijepa književnost / Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Institute for Oriental Studies - Belles-lettres* /. Posebna izdanja XX. Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Prof. dr. Amir Ljubović. Odgovorni urednik / Managing editor /: Prof. dr. Fehim Nametak. Sarajevo 1997., 410.

-Fehim Nametak, *Divanska književnost Bošnjaka / Divan Poetry of the Bosniaks* /. Posebna izdanja XXI. Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Prof. dr. Amir Ljubović. Sarajevo 1997., 200.

-Dr. Hanka Vajzović, *Orijentalizmi u književnom djelu - lingvistička analiza / Orientalisms in Literature - Linguistic Analysis* /. Institut za jezik u Sarajevu (Posebna izdanja - knjiga 9) i Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, Posebna izdanja XXII. Urednik / Editor /: Dr. Ibrahim Čedić. Sarajevo 1999., 407.

-Esad Duraković, *Arapska stilistika u Bosni - Ahmed sin Hasanov Bošnjak o metafori / Arabic Stylistics in Bosnia - Ahmed son of Hasan Bosniak on Metaphor* /. Posebna izdanja XXIII. Glavni urednik / Editor-in-chief /: Prof. dr. Fehim Nametak. Odgovorni urednik / Managing editor /: Dr. Behija Zlatar. Sarajevo 2000., 127.⁴¹

41 Ibid, pp. 89-94.

CONCLUSION

Talking about the reality of the recent war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is very difficult to differentiate between the people who were killed and the culture which was destroyed in this region of the Balkans. During the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), the Serbian fascists on one hand have killed about 250.000 innocent people, while on the other hand they tried to destroy everything that was symbolizing the Muslim-Bosnian identity, science, culture, and art in the Balkans.

The Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo was one of the most famous institutions before the Bosnian War. It used to hold a very rich collection of manuscripts and archives containing extremely important sources of the history of Bosnia and of the Balkans. The Institute over 55 years of its work continues to publish invaluable materials. Thus, it has proved to be one of the fundamental research institutions, without whose activity it would be impossible to study Bosnian and Balkan history and culture. It is noteworthy to see that almost all skilled Orientalists from these parts of the Balkans were active at the Institute from its early years. Presumably it was for this reason that it succeeded to become one of the most eminent institutions in the field of humanities both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Balkans. Actually, most of these distinguished scholars have left invaluable works, thus playing a profound role not only within the Institute for Oriental studies, but in the field of oriental studies as such in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Balkans and beyond. The success of the 55-years active Institute was indeed striking.

“And then everything was gone in a single day, on the 17th May 1992, the day that should be written in black letters in the calendar of historical science, culture and civilization of these parts. In just one night, the entire holdings of the Institute disappeared, all the historical and literary materials, a rich technical and academic library with its books and journals, as well as the many academic papers and projects carried out by Institute staff as part of their regular programme. Statisticians calculated in percentages, less than 1 % of the earlier materials have been preserved.”⁴² It should be mentioned here that in the fire of 17th May 1992, the day of destruction of the Institute for Oriental Studies, completely destroyed the preserved copies of the Institute's editions published by that time - from the first issue of the journal *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* (1950) to its No 41, which had just come out, 16 monographs from *Posebna izdanja* and seven books from the *Monumenta Turcica* series.

Nevertheless, as seen from this paper, the Institute has managed to overcome the difficulties it encountered at the very beginning of the aggression. Never will it be possible to restore the destroyed resources, but the work continues

42 Lejla Gazić, *Destruction of the Institute for Oriental Studies During the Aggression Against Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992.-1995.*, op.cit., p. 35.

and the Institute will keep on carrying out the research which had been started together with its establishment fifty five years ago.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahmed Aličić, "Četrdeset Godina Postojanja i Rada Orijentalnog Instituta", *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*, Sarajevo 1991, XL1, 11-19; Amir Ljubović and others, *Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu 1950.-2000. - The Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo 1950-2000*, Sarajevo 2000, pp. 39-172; Behija Zlatar, "Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu 1950.-2000.", *Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu 1950.-2000. - The Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo 1950-2000*, Sarajevo 2000, pp. 9-15; Ibid, "On the Occasion of Fifty Years of Work of the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo", *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*, Sarajevo 2002, L, 9-10; Branislav Đurđev, "Uz Prvi Broj", *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju i Istoriju Jugoslovenskih Naroda pod Turskom Vladavinom*, Sarajevo 1950, I, 5-6; Lejla Gazić, "Stradanje Orijentalnog Instituta u Agresiji na Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1992.-1995.", *Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu 1950.-2000. - The Institute for Oriental Studies in Sarajevo 1950-2000*, Sarajevo 2000, pp. 25-29; *Službeni List NRBiH*, br. 20/50; *Službeni List SRBiH*, br. 20/77, 23/67, 20/77, 38/90, 40/85; *Službene Novine Kantona Sarajevo*, br. 17/99; <http://www.ois.unsa.ba/HTML/index.htm>

POPULATION MOVEMENTS TOWARDS ANATOLIA FROM BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA FOLLOWING THE KARLOWITZ TREATY AND IMMIGRATION OF PEOPLES FROM BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA TO TURKEY AND LOCATIONS OF SETTLEMENTS

Enisa Oğuz*

Migrations are one of the symbols of Bosnians historical destiny full of big tragedies, tensions and suffering. According to the sources these migrations toward Turkey started with Karlowitz Treaty.

The Treaty of Karlowitz was signed in 1699 in Sremski Karlovci, concluding the Austro-Ottoman war of 1683-1697 in which the Ottoman side was defeated. Following a two-month congress between the Ottoman Empire on one side and the Holy League, a coalition of various European powers including Austria-Hungary, Poland, Venice and Russia a treaty was signed on January 26, 1699. The Ottomans ceded most of Hungary, Transylvania and Slavonia to Austria while Podolia passed to Poland. Most of Dalmatia passed to Venice, along with the Morea (the Peloponnesus peninsula) which the Ottomans restored in the Treaty of Passarowitz of 1718.

The Treaty of Karlowitz marked the end of the Ottoman expansion westward into Europe and made Austria-Hungary the dominant power in southeastern Europe.

The treaty of Carlovitz is memorable, not only on account of the magnitude of the territorial change which it ratified; not only because it marks the period when men ceased to dread the Ottoman Empire as an aggressive power; but, also, because it was then that the Porte and Russia took part, for the first time, in a general European Congress; and because, by admitting to that Congress the representatives of England and Holland, neither of which states was a party to the war, both the Sultan and the Czar thus admitted the principle of intervention of the European powers, one with another, for the sake of the general good.

The times of trouble for Bosnians have commenced after the existence of Ottoman Empire had been wiped out from Balkans. The situation had become more difficult after Berlin Congress and the soldiers of Sultan had started to leave for Turkey in groups. This retreat pertaining to the Treaty had left Bosnian all alone and without a hope in their homeland. In fact the Bosnians hadn't assented to migrate and opposed the actions regarding to this as well.

* President of the Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina Friendship Association

Balkan Peninsula had experienced the biggest break-up in Berlin Congress. Ottoman Empire had lost 3/5 of land and the control over one fifth of population that consists of 5,5 million people which half is Bosnian Muslims.

A great migration has started with the Provisions of Congress. Millions of Bosnian immigrants had left their assets and properties to their neighbors and set off for Turkey, the places they had never seen before. The period between 1878 and 1945 is the period in which the violence had been experienced most intensively and bloody.

Following several implementations Latas Ömer Pasha had carried out, the abhorrence between Muslim and Orthodox communities had become more intense and the distrustfulness within Bosnian people along the border regions completely been raised. The punishment of tribes in Montenegro by Latas Ömer Pasha is the main cause of bad things that Bosnian people experienced later in Kolašin. Kolašin was attached to Bosnia for a short time then it was attached to İşkodra Sancak, Bihor Province and Prizren Kadılığı at last. The population in Kolašin was 6.339 according to census made in 1851 and 4.068 (% 65) of them were Bosnians. All Poterya, including Kolašin (complete with 34 villages) has been given to Montenegro. Soon after coercion on Bosnians has commenced in Niksiç, Kolašin and Danilovgrad regions and many family had left the area for this reason.

There was no peace in Kolašin since the end of 18th century. Great struggles and destruction has been experienced in this area from the beginning of 19th century. Montenegrin groups consisting of the ones coming from Donji, Gornji Morača, Rovci, Jezero, Šaranac, Lijeve and partly from Kuçi, including Vasojevićs, had conducted an assault to Kolašin and the villages nearby, fired pastures of Sinjajevina, Lipovo, Trebaljevo and Štitarica villages. Several hundreds had been slaughtered and some of them had been burned together with their houses. More than thousand had been killed in these attacks according to Austrian sources. Kolašin had turned to a complete ruin and people had become totally miserable. Vuk Popović describes this event as “....all houses were demolished, about one thousand of people who didn’t want to surrender were burned to ash with their houses and about the same amount of people were captured or killed...” However in spite of every thing, Kolašin had not been occupied by Montenegrins. Knez Danilo had stated that he was unaware of the event and sharply ordered plunderers to return all the things they had taken to Kolašinians.

In the spring of 1859, Bosnians from Gornje Lipova and Rječina had migrated and Moračans and Rovčans had settled in these areas. In this way, Montenegrins had tightly laid siege to Kolašin in three directions. The living conditions in Kolašin had become harder for Bosnians after 1878. Mass migrations had begun in 1879 and ended in the same year.

The first immigrant group after Yenipazar Treaty on April 21st 1879 consists of 8.000 Bosnians. The people in this group could have not returned back since others had seized their properties.

63.000 Bosnian-Muslims had migrated from Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1878 and 1918. According to Dorde Petanović's estimates, around 140.000 Bosnian-Muslims had left their lands between 1879 and 1918 and according to Voyislav Bogićević it is 160.000 in 1912.

The first Bosnian-Muslim settlements in Turkey were Bursa vicinity, Ankara-Yenişehir and internals of Istanbul.

The number of application for migration has been raised after new Military law had entered into force. In order to prevent the absence of those who consider migration from military duty, the government didn't authorize the migration requests of men above 15. The others were easily been granted for migration. At the same time, the local administration has been impeding immigrants to return because they have been settling their proponents into the properties of immigrants.

There were some Bosnians promoting the migration of Bosnians who had provisions from the sale of immigrants' lands. Among those there were Osman Alibegović from Tuzla, Omer Šeferović and Hafız Džinić from Banja Luka, Bećir-aga Hadziselimović from Kotor Varoš, Muhamed-beg Pašalić from Bosanska Krupa, Hasan-aga Pezo from Bosanska Dubica Suljaga Suljetović Prijedor. While passing through Sarajevo in June 1883, 41 families from Cazin and Kupa, has told Stefanovski, the Representative of Sarajevo, that "... Austrians didn't harm us as much as our governors." They have been complaining for the president of Cazin, Ahmet-aga Pozderac.

There were of course intelligent men who strived to stop the migration, for example Muhammed-ef. Hadzিজahić had published a serial against migration in Turkish-Bosnian newspaper "Vatan" in 1884.

Mostar bishop fra Paškal Buconjić, have been purchasing the lands of immigrants from Nevesinje and Bjelo Polje and assisting Croats highly populated around Ljubuski and Mostar to settle in these areas.

According to the government data, the occupational breakdown of immigrants who migrated between 1891 and 1897 was as follows: 3.764 farmers, 555 tradesmen, 118 self-employed, 395 workers and 170 others.

Only 2.027 Bosnians returned to Bosnia between 1883 and 1905. In fact Austrian-Hungary Kingdom was curious about the ethnical balance to change in favor of Serbs due to the migration of Bosnians. For all that Austrian-Hungary Kingdom never carried a massacre policy against Bosnians.

With the establishment of constitution on 23.7.1908 following the Young Turk revolution, Austrian-Hungary common government decided that Turkey was over and started the activities waiting for a long time regarding Aneksi. The agreement between Austria and Turkey and the approval of Aneksi by Turkey on February 1909 was a shock for Bosnians. The most important document regarding this shock is the memorandum of Bosnian Muslims, submitted to Ottoman

Parliament on February 1909. In the report it is stated that Bosnians don't deserve to be traded off by Turkey for 2,5 million funds and left on enemies hands.

At the end of 1912, immigrants from Sancak, Kosovo and Macedonia set forth Turkey. The future of remainder was totally at the mercy of new states.

While there were 500 houses until 1912, 450 families have migrated from Rastelica which is the biggest village of Gora nearby Prizren and settled around Eskişehir and Pazarcık. Then they have moved into the other regions of Turkey. 102 families have also migrated from Kruşevo and Goran village near Dragaş between 1912 and 1918. Most of the immigrants from Kruşevo have settled on Poda village which later was named as Yalıköy on Black Sea coast. Most of the immigrant Bosnian families from Yenipazar had gone to Turkey in 1913. The wave of Bosnian immigration had intensified in this period. Meantime immigration of Bosnians from Senice region have continued and new immigrations have started from Kladnica village in Peşter.

A letter sent by Blazo Perović, the head of high school in Taşlıca, to King Nikola, indicates the dimensions of immigration:

“8.000 people lives in this town and there are enough houses for the accommodation of the people in the region. According to rumor, the population was 14.000 in the town and it has fallen due to migration. Recently, 1/3 of houses are empty and nobody leaves in. These houses which are all pretty good are two store mansions with 10-15 rooms. It is possible to rent to 20-25 perper providing that they are repaired. Landlords are agree to rent the houses to those who will repair and maintain in good condition.”

A new immigration wave had begun in April 1914. The recommendation of German Embassy was not to move in groups or alone until entrance visas are procured. While the Embassy have been providing the ships to carry the immigrants, Turkish part have been accepting them and undertaking their accommodation. The immigration path starting from the regions annexed by Montenegro was reaching to Podgorica and Bar via Kolašin and Andrijevica. One of the branch of immigration path originating from the regions of Sancak that was given to Serbia have been passing through Kolašin and Podgorica and the other one via Mitrovica road. 600 immigrant had set out from Prijepolje region at the beginning on May 1914. Migration has also been started from Plav and Gusinje regions on June and July in the same year. There have been 128 families with 1500 population. They were settled in İzmir and Adapazarı.

Since 340 families had moved to Turkey from Taşlıca, 300 houses and farms were left one year later in the region.

According to some sources, 12.304 Bosnians from Sancak region given to Montenegro had immigrated to Turkey via Bar seaport between April and July 1914. Local government didn't want to be seen as promoting the migration but as in the past, didn't perform anything to stop migration, either.

In August 1914, the Muslims in Sancak, had clearly requested protection of their life and properties with a letter from president of Serbia, Ljubo Davidović. Muslims had indicated that 194 muslim village had been plundered, 1300 Bosnian muslims had been killed and there were property damage more than 20 million dinar. 21 muslims from Taşlıca region had submitted a written application to local authorities and requested consent for their migration.

The relationships between Serbs and Bosnians had become worse after Şahoviçi and Pavino Polje massacre in 1924 and people leaving their homes by force headed to the other parts of Yugoslavia (mainly Vişegrad and Brčko towns of Bosnia) and some to Turkey.

40 families, total 216 people, from Kladnic village of Senica region have moved to Turkey between 1924 and 1928. There had been no Bosnian muslim in Yovik village.

Following the selection terror, 150 families from Yenipazar and 250 families from the village in Dejevo town had migrated. In 1920, people had left Sopotnika as a whole. 23 families had moved from Hisarcık between 1923 and 1932. Numerous others had migrated from Bosnia-Herzegovina, mainly from Bihaç region, between 1928 and 1929.

Yugoslavian Kingdom had been promoting the migration to Turkey rather than being constructive to stop it. In the negotiations with Turkish Republic they put Bosnian Muslim problem in Southern Yugoslavia into forward and suggested to legalize the migration. In accordance with the provisions of the protocol as a consequence of these negotiations and signed on July 11th 1938, migration of;

- 4.000 families within the first year
- 6.000 families within the second year
- 7.000 families for each of the third and fourth year
- 8.000 families for each of the fifth and sixth year was agreed.

According to this protocol, Yugoslavian government would have paid 500 Turkish Liras Per refugee, 20 million Turkish Liras in total. Abandoned farms and lands would have left for Yugoslavian government for the settlement of its citizens. Families were allowed to take 4 cattle and 10 sheep together.

Bosnians had been accepted as second class citizens of new regime as approved by 1946 Yugoslavian Constitution. According to the laws, each Bosnian shall have registered as Serb or Croat because there was no definition of Bosnian term in laws.

Bosnian population in Bihor, start to migrate to Turkey between 1951 and 1970. The number of immigrants from Bihor is 4.239.

According to the data from Secretariat of Refugee, the number of immigrants mainly from Macedonia, Kosovo, Sancak and Bosnia-Herzegovina is 195.000 between 1953 and 1957.

Due to the lack of reliable records, it is difficult to estimate the number of Bosnians migrated to Turkey. According to Official statistics of the census in 1965, the number of Yugoslavian refugees were 240.469. Concerning the statistics kept in Turkey, 41.950 families with total population of 159.030 have entered in the country between 1946 and 1968.

The Constitution of Serbia has been revised. The Bosnians who wish to migrate to Turkey have had not to use Macedonian path. After this date, 13.074 people have migrated to Turkey.

Turkish scientist Altan Deliorman considers that in 1971, 200.000 people have migrated to Turkey from Yugoslavia; another scientist Cevat Geray estimates between 283.000 and 500.000. According to the data of Foreign Ministry of Yugoslavia, Department of Consulate, in 1970 the number of people migrated from Yugoslavia after the war to Turkey and called as “refugee”, is 300.000.

Concerning the indecisive data of Bosnia-Herzegovina Refugee Department, 2 million people who are the first immigrants or new generation lives in Turkey. Some families have been living in Turkey more than 100 years and raised the fourth generation. Immigrants have settled Istanbul, Adapazarı and Izmir regions and constituted neighborhoods such as Pendik, Bayrampaşa, Sefaköy, Zeytinburnu, Yenibosna, Beşyüzevler, Kartal, Küçükköy, Yıldırım. Scientists and researchers have identified these cities, towns and villages as follows:

Cities: İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Bursa, Edirne, Konya, Adapazarı, Adana, Eskişehir, Manisa, İzmit, Yalova etc.

Towns: Biga, Erdek, Karamürsel, İnegöl, Söke, Burhaniye, Urla, Aydın, Bilecik, Arifiye, Kilikya, Kütahya, Turgutlu, Çanakkale, Denizli, Muğla, Ceyhan, Havza, Keşan, Gelibolu, Kuşadası, Ayvalık, Yenişehir, Balıkesir, Bergama, Efes, Kırıkkale, Sincan, Maraş, Çankırı etc.

Villages: Domaniç, Yeniköy, Kalafat, Yazlık, Karaman, Köseömer, Çavuşköy, Bahçeköy, Çamlıca, Demirköy, Çataltepe, Balıklı, Poyrazlı, Oluklu, Karapınar, Hayriye, İhsaniye, Samatlı, Ayazma, Ortaköy, Fevziye, Tuzla, Haymana, Avşar, Beypazarı, Nallıhan, Ayaş, Çukurçeşme, Selçuk, Halilbey etc.

Caused by agreement between Yugoslavia and Turkey all families which left Yugoslavien citizenship were compelled to change surnames. Most of the families choose name of the place where they were coming from as a new surname for example Akova, Sancaklı.

And last war...

On February 29th and March 1st 1992, the Bosnian government held a referendum on independence. The Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks mostly voted on the referendum in favor.

The Bosnian Serbs who were largely against independence in favor of what would soon become the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (now Serbia and Montenegro) mostly boycotted it, because of its unconstitutionality as the Serb delegates in parliament did not approve it.

With 99% voting for the independence out of 66% of the eligible voters, the Bosniak and Croat representatives in Bosnia's parliament declared the republic's independence on April 5, 1992. The Serb delegates, having previously left over the violation of the Constitution, declared their own state Republika Srpska on midnight between April 6th and April 7th.

Most European countries and the U.S. recognized the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina by April 7th, and the country was admitted to the United Nations on May 22nd.

Bosniaks meanwhile consider the first casualty of the war to be Suada Dilberović, who was shot during a peace march by unidentified gunmen on April 5th 1992.

The war between the three constitutive nations turned out to be probably the most chaotic and bloody war in Europe since World War II.

In the end, the war caused an estimated 278,000 dead and missing persons and another 1,325,000 refugees and exiles from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Today, the most high population of Bosniacs leave in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sandzak (Serbia and Montenegro), around 2 million, in SAD 138,000, Croatia 40,000, Germany 200,000, Sweden 50,000, Slovenia 32,500, Makedonya 17,000 and Turkey – around 5 million descendant from Bosnia and Herzegovina their migration start at the time of Austro-Hungarian occupation.

And for the end of my lecture I would like to quote Miroslav Krleža, one of the famous writer in modern Croatian literature, what he said about Bosnia.

“My lady Europe forgive us, but she does not have cultural monuments. The Inka tribe in America has its monuments, Egypt has real cultural monuments. May lady Europe forgive us, only Bosnia has its monuments. Stećci (Medieval thumbstone).

What is *stećak*?

It is the incarnation of highlander Bosnians! Bosnian on *stećak*? He stands straight! His head and arm raised! But, nowhere and never, has anybody found *stećak* showing Bosnian on his knees, begging, where he is shown as a slave.”

REFERENCES

- Mustafa Imamovic - Historija Bosnjaka - Bosnjacka zajednica kulture Preporod-Sarajevo - Bosna i Hercegovina – 1998.
- Omer Ibrahimagic - Bosanska drzavnost i nacionalnost - Vijece Kongresa bosnjackih intelektualaca-Des-Sarajevo-Bosna i Hercegovina – 2003
- Peter Alford Andrews – Ethnic Groups in Republic of Turkey – Reichert – Wiesbaden – Germany – 1989
- Hayri Kolasinli – Muhacirlerin izinde – Lotus yayinevi – Ankara – Turkey - 2003

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE SFRY

Ziyad Sehic*

ABSTRACT

A general situation of social crisis in Yugoslavia accompanied by the collapse of the ruling ideology created a vacuum, wherein astonishingly fresh and aggressive nationalist forces surfaced after a forty-year-long period in which they were taboo, and where they found extremely fertile soil. The centre of the national unrest that destroyed Yugoslavia was not on the periphery, but in the centre of its leadership, in Serbia. It was because of this that the eruption tore apart the whole construction.

The practical realisation of the new policy began with the arrival on the political scene of Slobodan Milošević, since 1987 the leader of the Communist Party of Serbia. He understood that socialism was finished and the time of nationalism had arrived, and he placed himself at the head of the movement.

The Slovenes and the Croats proclaimed their independence on 25 June 1991. On the same day Slovenian soldiers attempted to take over the border posts on the frontier with Austria. The first shots were fired, and there were fatal casualties. That was the day the war in former Yugoslavia began, planned in detail by the military and political leadership in Belgrade.

Thanks to their well-equipped and well-armed army, Serbia, and Montenegro, mounted an aggression against the other peoples of Yugoslavia in defiance of the whole world, with the goal of uniting all Serbs in one state. Belgrade could reconcile itself to the loss of Slovenia with the dissolution of Yugoslavia, but not to Serbian minorities remaining outside the borders of the Serbian state, particularly within the borders of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Yugoslav crisis was occurring at the same time as the fundamental changes in Europe after 1989. The feature of this crisis, therefore, was its internationalization.

While Bosnia and Herzegovina was struck by the war, the active process of international diplomacy was occurring. The extent of conclusions of the main subjects of international politics was limited by their various political interests. These interests were the tools which influenced the decisions and methods of reinforcement of the adopted conclusions.

The main objective of the most important international bodies was directed towards ending of the war. The failure discredited UN as an organization, but the guilt could be imputed to each of the members of the Council of Safety. The members of the Council have eluded the solution of problems attempting to use the UNPROFOR for the

* Dr., University of Sarajevo

goals for which this organization was not prepared nor equipped. And this was all happening after the members of the Council of Safety have recognized Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent and sovereign state, but they acted as if they have not done so. The role of UN decreased even more after the USA did not give them the leadership. The leadership was given instead to the members of NATO since US was aware of the fact that the members of NATO will not oppose the US politics.

The end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina has marked the end of the agony of the Western countries. These countries were hoping more and more to become released from discrepancies imposed by their diplomacies since the diplomacies spread the mistrust between them and destroyed the idea of the free, peaceful Europe. The main reason of troubles of the West was the lack of desire to face its own attitudes and oppositions as well as differences which divided Yugoslavia. The events that took place at the negotiation table turned some of these differences into the purely academic issues.

When Josip Broz Tito, a charismatic personality and the figure who integrated a socialist Yugoslavia, died in May 1980 it seemed that he had left a secure inheritance behind him. However, his life's work, a united and mutually reconciled Yugoslavia, rapidly began to disintegrate.

Tito's death was the end of an era, the only one in the history of Yugoslavia to deserve the description peaceful. Throughout his life he battled unbendingly and unrelentingly against the nationalism of the Yugoslav peoples, which had already led the country once into self-destruction. He placed the individual Yugoslav states in a historical context, and granted them complete autonomy. The Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina obtained for the first time in their history what belonged to them - the status of a nationality.¹

The communist leaderships of some republics, partly democratised and influenced by popular discontent, began to express open discontent with the federal concepts. The former consensus among the country's leaders was seriously damaged. The communists of some republics attempted to take advantage of the falling out among communists at the federal level. The Republic of Serbia's communists took the lead in preventing the democratisation of the country's economic and political system. They introduced that framework to the main federal levers of power, a strong state police and army (the Yugoslav People's Army - JNA).

The regression of industrial production was accompanied by mass unemployment and galloping inflation. Political and social tensions increased at the

¹ Žozef Liberti /as printed/, The Curse of Sarajevo. The Ninth Circle of Hell, III BH Ekskluziv, 25 December 1992, Split, 9. (Based on texts published in the German newspaper Der Spiegel, Hamburg). Since 1945, population censuses have indicated the growth of national self-awareness among the Muslims of BH. While the earlier censuses gave Muslims a limited choice of national identification, in 1981 1,630,000 identified themselves as Muslims in a national, and not purely religious sense.

(Rezultati popisa stanovništva u BiH 1981-1991 /Census Results in BH, 1981-1991/ Sarajevo, 1991.

same time. The standard of living dropped to 1960s levels, the health and social security picture worsened and was accompanied by every form of aggression.²

A general situation of social crisis in Yugoslavia accompanied by the collapse of the ruling ideology created a vacuum, wherein astonishingly fresh and aggressive nationalist forces surfaced after a forty-year-long period in which they were taboo, and where they found extremely fertile soil. The centre of the national unrest that destroyed Yugoslavia was not on the periphery, but in the centre of its leadership, in Serbia. It was because of this that the eruption tore apart the whole construction.

While the Croats and Slovenes justifiably complained about Serbian dominance, the Serbs on their side felt that they had borne the brunt of Tito's regime, that they were the victim of a "Croat-Slovene" alliance which was able to limit the rights that Serbia felt it could seek. As a matter of fact, the 1974 Federal Constitution which awarded sovereignty to the republics deprived Serbia of its leading role in the country. It was no longer the ruling power but only one of six republics with equal rights, not even the wealthiest. Serbian politicians held that Serbia was the only republic without full sovereignty over its territory, since according to the Federal Constitution its two provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo, retained autonomy and had effectively been removed from the control of the Belgrade government. In addition, they complained that Serbia, which had made the greatest sacrifices during the Second World War, had been reduced to the second rank. These accusations were highly unrealistic, but they had a fearful resonance.

Two representative documents unveiled a new, Serbian nationalist ideology, and also supplied it with a political platform. The publication on 21 January 1986 of a petition "Against the persecution of Serbs in Kosovo", signed by 212 prominent Serbian intellectuals, and the publication of the SANU /Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts/ Memorandum at the end of September under the title "A Group of Academicians of the Serbian Academy of Sciences Headed by Antonije Isaković on Current Social problems in our Country" laid the groundwork for the new nationalist ideology, which was informed by three successive goals:

- the consolidation of power
- the centralisation of Serbia
- the realisation of the Greater Serbia project.³

The practical realisation of the new policy began with the arrival on the political scene of Slobodan Milošević, since 1987 the leader of the Communist Party of Serbia. He understood that socialism was finished and the time of

2 Josip Furkeš and Karl-Heinz Schlarp, *Jugoslawien, ein Staat zerfällt*, Hamburg, 1991, 74.

3 Mojmir Križan, *Nationalismen in Jugoslawien: von postkommunistischer nationaler Emanzipation zum Krieg*, Ost-Europa Archiv, Berlin, 1992, 127-129.

nationalism had arrived, and he placed himself at the head of the movement. He inflamed the atmosphere at large demonstrations attended by country dwellers from all parts of the country, using the Kosovo problem as a pretext. At the beginning of 1987 he expressed solidarity with the Serbs of Kosovo, and the subject of their alleged peril became the basis of his triumphant progress through the institutions. He first strengthened his position in the SK /League of Communists/ of Serbia by forcing the resignation of politicians who followed moderate policies and replacing them by his followers. He ensured the support of the most important newspapers through changes in their editorial boards and rigged Serbian radio and television to follow his own political course.⁴

After he had brought the media under his control, it was not difficult for Milošević to direct the masses by organising large-scale demonstrations led by the Organising Committee for Protest Meetings of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, who worked in agreement with the political organs. These meetings were to bring about national homogenisation, and national demands for the unity of Serbia and Yugoslavia were to be articulated at them.

After consolidating his authority Milošević moved on to the next goal – the centralisation of Serbia, which meant abolishing the autonomy of Vojvodina and Kosovo.

The first success was attained by a mass movement in Vojvodina, where on 6 October 1988 the Vojvodina leadership resigned after two days of demonstrations by 10,000 Serbs, and open threats. After two days of protests by 100,000 demonstrators between 11 and 13 January 1989 in Montenegro the republican and party leadership resigned and new officials, the puppets of the Belgrade regime, were installed.⁵

After Montenegro had been secured and the autonomy of Vojvodina abolished, there remained the final goal for the centralisation of Serbia – the abolition of Kosovo's autonomy. The reform of the Constitution was conducted with the help of the army and tanks and the introduction of a state of emergency. The new Serbian Constitution was promulgated on 28 March 1989, and Slobodan Milošević was elected President of the SR of Serbia.⁶

After the centralisation of Serbia, the third and most important goal of the new policy remained – the realisation of the Greater Serbia programme. On 28 June 1989, at Gazimestan on the Field of Blackbirds (the “Serbian Jerusalem”), the six-hundredth anniversary of a battle lost against the Ottomans was celebrated, the battle which signified the end of the mediaeval Serbian state, far surpassing the significance of a mere historical event. In his speech S. Milošević announced that “the Serbian people have regained their own state and their dignity for the first time

4 Ronald Schönfeld, *Das Jugoslawische Dilemma*, Europa-Archiv, Bonn, Nos. 15-16, 1994, 478.

5 Thomas Brey, *Jugoslawien in der Zerreißprobe 1*, Ost-Europa, Berlin 1991, 573-574.

6 Mojmir Krizhan, *Nationalismen in Jugoslawien...* 126

in 600 years"/, negating the last 600 years of Serbian history, publicly announcing ambitions of conquest founded on the remains of the mediaeval Serbian state.⁷

Milošević used the methods which had proved to be effective in dismantling the provincial authorities in Vojvodina and Kosovo to smash resistance and bring the entire country under his control.

In the summer of 1989 the burgeoning nationalism of the Serbs in Croatia, accompanied by a campaign of propaganda from the Belgrade media, became especially marked. By making use of the persecution of Serbs in the NDH between 1941 and 1945, and projecting them onto the current Yugoslav reality, "assimilationist policies and cultural genocide" were ascribed to Croatia. In response to this, Croatian nationalism increased in strength, leading to sporadic excesses.⁸

The 1989 arrival at the head of the Federal Government of an experienced technocrat, Ante Marković, who began to strengthen the position of the Federation through skilful economic reforms, and to awaken the hope that thanks to these reforms the supreme authorities might weather the crisis, contributed to Milošević's failure to export the anti-bureaucratic revolution to the other republics and conquer supreme power in 1989. In the other republics, in Slovenia and Croatia above all, there were increased desires to prevent Milošević imposing Serbian domination, as well as his desire to slow down the transformation of the economy and business which was leading in the direction of membership of the European Community. This contributed to the strengthening of demands for the formation of a confederation, or for a definitive parting of the ways.

At the 14th, extraordinary, Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia /SKJ/ on 26 May 1990 a short statement, in which the communists relinquished their political monopoly, was released on 26 May 1990. Croatia and Slovenia decided to follow their own path. Success in the free parliamentary elections of 1990 went to the parties who favoured democracy and a sovereign national state. The Slovenian and Croatian leadership made efforts to avoid war and resolve the Yugoslav crisis peacefully, by unveiling a joint proposal that Yugoslavia should be transformed into a loose confederation. Individual republics were to be sovereign, and a joint Yugoslav military command should only exist in the event of aggression. After a meeting of the SFRY Presidency on 11 October 1990, the president, Milan Kučan, announced that no agreement had been reached on the Croat-Slovene proposal, because Serbia insisted on a strong central authority. Given such a position, Slovenia and Croatia decided to form a confederation and leave Yugoslavia.

7 Oslobojenje, Sarajevo, 29 June 1989, 1, 3. B-1 Articles: Istorija naduhnuje i opominje /History Inspires and Warns/, Kosovsko junaštvo inspiriše naše stavalaštvo /The Heroism of Kosovo Inspires our Creative Genius/

8 Thomas Brey, Jugoslawien, II, 717

An attempt by the President of the SFRY Presidency Borisava Jović, at a session of the Supreme Command from 12 to 15 March 1991, to force through a decision on the introduction of a “state of emergency” in the SFRY, by stepping up the combat readiness of the armed forces in order to give the Yugoslav People’s Army a free hand to resolve the situation in the country, failed on the first day of the session. On the second and third days the balance of forces in the Supreme Command changed. The JNA then reconsidered and withdrew its proposal, because it neither could nor would take on responsibility for an outbreak of war. Thus MILO[EVI]’s attempt to establish control of the SFRY by using the army was a failure, and at that point he entirely abandoned the Yugoslav project and covertly began to work at accomplishing the Greater Serbia project by other means.⁹

Immediately after Milošević’s failed attempt to impose himself as master of all Yugoslavia through the Supreme Command and the JNA, he held secret talks with the Croatian President Franjo Tuđman on the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina, at Karadordevo on 26 March and in Tikveš on 16 April 1991. No agreement was reached on actual boundaries, but they were left to time and the diplomatic and military situation. All later efforts by the Serbian and Croatian sides were intended to ensure favourable conditions for the annexation of as much territory as possible by Serbia or Croatia.¹⁰

The Serbian leadership threatened that, in the event of dissolution of the Federation, they would dispute the internal republican borders and demand the creation of a Serbian national state on the principle of “All Serbs in one state”. On 25 July 1990 a Serbian National Council was formed in the districts of Croatia inhabited by Serbs, and a Declaration on the sovereignty and autonomy of Serbs in Croatia was adopted. On 19 August a referendum was conducted, in which a large majority of voters declared for autonomy. At the same time, arming of members of a Serbian police by the JNA began, as did the erection of barricades on the roads (the so-called “log revolution”), Croatian police arms depots were looted and the intervention of the Croatian police was prevented by the JNA.¹¹

9 Svetozar Oro, *O ulozi vladarskih težnji u Yu-ratovima 1991-2001* /On the Role of Ruler Aspirations in the Yugoslav Wars 1991-2001/, in *Ratovi u Jugoslaviji 1991-1999, zbornik saopštenja i diskusija sa okruglog stola, Beograd 7-9 Novembar 2001* /The Yugoslav Wars 1991-1999, a Collection of Papers and Discussions from the 7-9 November 2001 Round Table, Belgrade/, 81-82. B-2

10 Ibid, 82. Two commissions were formed as a consequence of the Karadordevo meeting, which were intended to work out the details of these negotiations. In Tuđman’s team were Dušan Bilandžić, Josip Šentija and Zvonko Lerotić, and in Milošević’s Smilja Avranov, Dušan Mihajlović, Vladan Marković and Vladan Kutlešić. The teams met three times with the knowledge of the Serbian and Croatian political leadership, in Bilje/ near Osijek, Zagreb and Belgrade. According to a subsequent statement by Franjo Nobilo, who was Franjo Tuđman’s adviser at the time of these meetings, it was agreed “that an exchange of populations be carried out, that Bosnia and Herzegovina be divided, and that a small part be left for a Muslim state”. (Sakib Softić, *Pravna priroda rata u Bosnii i Hercegovini* /The Legal Nature of the War in Bosnia and Herzegovina/, Sarajevo 2000, 220-221/).

11 The Federal Secretariat for National Defence issued a Decision in 1990 which was used to remove all weapons and military equipment from all commercial, social and state institutions and hand them over to the republican Territorial Defence /TO/ Staff. A second Decision followed in 1991, according to which all weapons were to be handed over to the JNA in their entirety for safe-keeping. (Veljko Kadijević, *Moje viđenje raspada: Vojska bez države* /My view of the Disintegration: An Army Without a State/, Belgrade, 1993, 78).

Many dilemmas were resolved when between 15 May and 26 June Borisav JOVI] was to hand on his one-year mandate as President of the SFRY Presidency to the next-in-line, Croatia's representative in the Presidency, Stipe Mesić. This exchange was not automatic, and so the appointment of the president was put to the vote by the members of the Presidency. The vote was held on 17 May 1991 and four members of the Serbian bloc voted against Mesić.

This brought the whole system to a halt, since the Federation no longer had a president representing the state's civilian and military authorities. This crisis was only alleviated by the handover of the post on 30 June/1 July, in the presence of and under pressure from the "EU Troika". When Mesić accepted the post of President and Supreme Commander, the country was already at war.¹²

The Slovenes and the Croats proclaimed their independence on 25 June 1991. On the same day Slovenian soldiers attempted to take over the border posts on the frontier with Austria. The first shots were fired, and there were fatal casualties. That was the day the war in former Yugoslavia began, planned in detail by the military and political leadership in Belgrade.¹³ Thanks to their well-equipped and well-armed army, Serbia, and Montenegro, mounted an aggression against the other peoples of Yugoslavia in defiance of the whole world, with the goal of uniting all Serbs in one state. Belgrade could reconcile itself to the loss of Slovenia with the dissolution of Yugoslavia, but not to Serbian minorities remaining outside the borders of the Serbian state, particularly within the borders of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁴

At the beginning of the Yugoslav conflict the United Nations acted with extreme restraint, pinning their hopes on the abilities of the CSCE /Conference on Security and Co-Operation in Europe/ and the European Community. Only on 25 September 1991 did the Yugoslav question reach the UN Security Council's agenda. Resolution 713 sought a cease-fire in Croatia and introduced an embargo on the import of weapons to all the Yugoslav Republics.¹⁵ A decision on sending protection forces to Yugoslavia was taken by Resolution 743 of 21 February 1992.¹⁶

12 Svetozar Oro, O ulozi vladarskih težnji u Yu-ratovima 1991-2001, in Ratovi u Jugoslaviji 1991-1999, zbornik saopštenja i diskusija sa okruglog stola, Beograd 7-9 Novembar 2001, 79.

13 Plan RAM had its genesis in the General Staff in 1990, and its existence was announced at a session of the Federal Executive Council on 19 September 1991. This plan was essentially one for the rolling-back of the western borders of Serbia /as printed/ and establishing a framework for a new Yugoslavia where all the Serbs and their territories would fall within a single state (Sonja Biserko, Od Jugoslovenske narodne armije do Srpske vojske /From Yugoslav People's Army to Serbian Army/, in Ratovi u Jugoslaviji 1991-1999, zbornik saopštenja i diskusija sa okruglog stola, Beograd 7-9 Novembar 2001, 224).

14 Jens Reuter, Der Entstehung der jugoslawischen Krise und ihre Internationalisierung, Südosteuropa, Vol 40, Nr 7/9, Munich 1993, 343-344.

15 Europa-Archiv, Zeitschrift für Internationale Politik, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, Bonn 21/1991, D. 536... (below: EA)

16 Resolution 743 (1992) des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen zur Einrichten einer Schutztruppe für den Konflikten im ehemaligen Jugoslawien, verabschiedet am 21 Februar 1991 in New York, EA 19 (1992, D. pp. 578 – 579).

In September 1991 the Conference on Yugoslavia commenced work under the auspices of the European Community, which culminated in the European plan for the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis reached at a session in The Hague on 18 October 1991. At the plenary session, Slobodan Milošević rejected the proffered document on the grounds that in practical terms it meant the end of Yugoslavia. A new session of the conference was convened for 5 November 1991, but two amendments for a global solution of the Yugoslav crisis were rejected at it. At a new meeting of the conference, held in Rome on 8 November 1991, a package of sanctions against Yugoslavia was adopted, accompanied by an announcement that the sanctions were envisaged for those Yugoslav republics which rejected a peace process under the auspices of the European Community, in other words the introduction of such measures against individual republics depended on their conduct at the conference table.¹⁷

¹⁷ This plan included the following elements:

- sovereign and independent states with international recognition for those states that wished it
- freedom of association of the republics with recognition in international law as envisaged by this agreement
- a comprehensive agreement including control mechanisms for the protection of human rights and a special status for certain groups and regions
- European engagement in cases of necessity
- the recognition of the independence of those republics desirous of it, within the framework of a global solution,
- within their existing borders, unless an alternative agreement was reached. (Kasim Begi}, Bosna i Hercegovina od Vanceove misije do Daytonskog sporazuma /Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Vance Mission to the Dayton Accords/, Sarajevo, 1997, 24-17)

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA 1990-1992

In the first free elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina held on 18 November 1990, the majority of the voters chose to vote along ethnic lines. The elections were won by the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) led by Alija Izetbegović, which gained 86 (35.83%) of the 240 seats in the republican Assembly, The Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) gained 72 seats (30%), and the HDZ /Croatian Democratic Union/ 44 (18.33%). The three main parties gained 202 parliament seats (84.17%), and the remaining parties 38 (15.83%).

The Population of BH According to the 1991 Census

The historical facts show that no mono-ethnic administrative and territorial units or divisions on the basis of ethnicity or religion had ever existed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The statistical data show that in the post-Second World War period the ethnic mixing of the population was on the rise. According to the 1885 census, 52% of settlements were mono-ethnic and 48% ethnically mixed; after 1910 the number of mono-ethnic settlements had fallen to 46% and the number of mixed ones risen to 54%. Between the Second World War and 1991 the number of mono-ethnic settlements had fallen to 20%, while the number of mixed ones had risen to 80%.¹⁸

According to the results of the 1991 Census of Bosnia and Herzegovina, its population numbered 4,377,033, of whom 43.5% were Muslims, 17.4% Croats, 31.2% Serbs, and 2.4% Others, while 5.5% of the population did not declare their ethnicity.

A total of 2,756,444 inhabitants, or 63% of the total, lived in municipalities where the Muslims had an absolute (40) or relative (12) majority. This was the largest territory in extent, and the most highly developed. There were 1,122,293 inhabitants, or 25% of the total, in the municipalities where the Serbs represented an absolute (31) or relative (6) majority. This was the second largest territory in extent, but it covered a large portion of the undeveloped and sparsely settled areas of the country.

477,327 inhabitants, or 10% of the total, lived in the territory where the Croats had an absolute (14) or relative majority. This was the smallest and also the least-developed territory.¹⁹

18 Sead Hadžović, *Sastavni dio rata protiv BiH – genocide i etničko čišćenje /Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing – an Integral Part of the War against BH/*, in *Ratovi u Jugoslaviji 1991-1999*, zbornik saopštenja i diskusija sa okruglog stola, Beograd 7-9 Novembar 2001, 264.

19 Muhamed Filipović, *Bosna i Herzegovina, najvažnije geografske, demografske, historijske, kulturne i političke činjenice /Bosnia and Herzegovina: the Most Important Geographic, Demographic, Historical, Cultural and Political Facts/*, Sarajevo, 1997, 42.

With the outbreak of war in Slovenia and Croatia, tensions increased in Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the fighting in Croatia parts of the territory of BH were drawn into the conflict. The Bosnian Krajina, serving as a logistics base for JNA military operations in Croatia, was noticeably beyond the control of the official Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the summer and autumn of 1991 the JNA mobilised Serbs through constant mobilisation and manoeuvres, and began to deploy units along the main communications routes. When the JNA announced a general mobilisation of the Krajina Corps at the end of September 1991, the BH Presidency concluded that these mobilisations were illegal, and at the same time demanded that soldiers from Bosnia and Herzegovina be returned from the JNA. In an attempt to avoid getting caught up in the Serb-Croat conflict, BH President Alija IZETBEOVIC called upon his citizens not to respond to mobilisation.

The military preparations were accompanied by political activities, including a proclamation by the SDS leadership, under cloak of the regionalisation of an autonomous Serbian district. This process had begun in April 1991 with the establishment of a "Community of Bosnian Krajina Municipalities", and by the beginning of the war in 1992 several such districts had been formed (the Autonomous Region of Krajina, the SAO /Serbian Autonomous District/ of Herzegovina, the SAO of Romanija and Bira, the SAO of Semberija, the SAO of Northern Bosnia).²⁰

During 1989 and 1990 the nationalists in Croatia and Serbia were openly laying the groundwork for the realisation of their expansionist political ideas.

In several speeches shortly after the elections in Croatia, the Croatian President, Franjo Tuđman, sought a Greater Croatia which would also include

According to the results of the 1991 census, the municipalities with a Serbian majority included 50.1% of all Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while the degree of concentrations of Muslims was significantly more advantageous, being 82.4% of all Muslims. The Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose share of the total BH population amounted to 17.4% had the least advantageous distribution of population. Croats represented a majority in 20 municipalities of the total 106 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a majority of over 50% of the population in 14 of them, and a majority of less than 50% of them in six. In the capital Sarajevo, which covered 10 municipalities, Croats formed 6.6% of the total population.

The municipalities with a Croatian majority were divided into three non-contiguous regions. The largest was the western Herzegovinian, which bordered on Croatia. The group of municipalities in northern Bosnia also bordered on Croatia, while the third group was in Central Bosnia between Sarajevo and Travnik, separated from the other two groups. The results of the 1991 census indicate that the concentration of municipalities with a Croatian majority was fairly low and included only 41% of the Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Over half the Croats lived in municipalities where other population groups had a majority: 44.99% of Croats lived in municipalities with a Muslim majority, 14.1% in municipalities with a Serbian majority. Another disadvantageous fact was the constant decrease in the Croat share of the total BH population. In the period between the 1981 and 1991 censuses the Croats lost their majority in the municipalities of Derventa (to the Serbs) and Mostar (to the Muslims). A third disadvantageous fact for the Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina was that in there were no towns with a concentration of commercial, educational, cultural and other institutions in the municipalities defined as municipalities with a Croatian majority. The fourth disadvantageous fact was that the majority of cultural monuments were located outside the areas defined as Croatian municipalities (the Franciscan monastery of Fojnica, Kraljeva Sutjeska, Visoko, Plehan, and the towns of Jajce, Bugojno and Travnik).

20 Sakib Softić, *Pravna priroda rata u Bosna i Hercegovini...* 174-175.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, which he viewed as the creation of the AVNOJ, and denied its historical individuality. He attacked the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina, claiming that they intended to establish an Islamic state, and denying the existence of the Muslims as a nation.²¹

Slobodan Milošević, like Tuđman, followed the historical lines of his own nationalism. His sentence, "Serbia will be great and powerful, or she will be nothing", contained open ambitions of conquest. The slogan that the Serbian regions in BH must be joined to the mother country dominated the media in Serbia. Milošević constantly stressed the danger of the Muslims and Croats driving the Serbs from BH. Serbian nationalists openly formulated their strategic aim: the Serbian regions in BH would be a bridge to the Serbian regions in Croatia and the Dalmatian coast.

The Croatian party in BH was called the HDZ, like the ruling party in Croatia; a clear indication of the political direction it would follow.

After the outbreak of war in Croatia there was a polarisation of the most important parties inside Bosnia and Herzegovina. Under the leadership of the HDZ BH president, Stjepan Kljuić, the Croat and the Muslim positions grew closer together. On 15 October 1991 a conclusion on secession from the SFRY was adopted, and the sovereignty of BH proclaimed. This intention was accompanied by a threat from Radovan Karadžić in the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who considered it a reason for war.²²

The radical Croatian party also took steps to establish an independent community which would join Croatia. A Decision establishing the HZ HB /Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna/ was adopted in Grude on 18 November. It defined the HZ HB as a political, cultural, economic and territorial entity. Mostar was chosen for its headquarters.²³

21 The fact that the Bosnian Muslims were beginning to think of themselves as Islamicised Bosnians, with strong links to their country, was illogical to those who were attempting to attain a geographical purity in Bosnian territory. The Serbs and the Croats assiduously demonised the secular Bosnian Muslim community as "fundamentalists", or a radical branch of Islam. The Serbs and the Croats changed the view of Bosnian Muslims by a stentorian appeal for Europe to be saved from a return of the "Turks" (Francine Friedman, *Islam kao nacionalni identitet /Islam as National Identity/*, Forum Bosnae, Sarajevo 18/2002, 101)

22 Oslobođenje, Sarajevo, 12 October 1991, 1. Article: Podjele oko suverenosti i različita viđenja BiH budućnosti /Divisions over Sovereignty and Various Views on the Future of BH/

23 According to the Decision, the territory of the HZ HB comprised 30 municipalities, chosen for historical reasons and those of the party platform. This was an area which the Croats viewed as historical and "ethnically Croat", primarily the area of the Banovina of Croatia of 1939. The municipalities constituting the HDZ /as printed/ HB were Jajce, Kreševo, Busovača, Vitez, Novi Travnik, Travnik, Kiseljak, Fojnica, Skender Vakuf (Dobretići), Kakanj, Vareš, Kotor Varoš, Tomislav Grad, Livno, Kupres, Bugojno, Gornji Vakuf, Prozor, Konjic, Jablanica, Posušje, Mostar, Široki Brijeg, Grude, Ljubuški, Čitluk, Čapljina, Neum, Stolac, Trebinje (Ravno) (Dr Ciril Ribičić, *Geneza jedne zablude, Ustavnopravna analiza nastanka i djelovanja Hrvatske zajednice Herceg-Bosne /Birth of an Error, a Constitutional Law Analysis of the Genesis and the Activities of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna/*, Zagreb-Sarajevo, 2001, 37).

The territorial demands of the creators of Serbian and Croatian policy in BH, directed by ethnic criteria, encompassed the whole of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, leaving only 3.52% of the territory of BH for the Muslims, numerically the largest people in BH.²⁴

The Arbitration Commission of the Conference on Yugoslavia, set by the European Union under the leadership of the French Constitutional Council President, Robert Badinter, determined on 7 December 1991 that the drive to independence of the Yugoslav republics was not secession, but the dissolution of the federal Yugoslav state. On 16 December 1991 the European Community detailed its conditions for the recognition of new states in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union which were constituted on democratic principles. The only states which could count on recognition were those which bound themselves to participating in a process of negotiations and promised to respect constitutionality, democracy and human rights, and the inviolability of all borders, which might be changed only peacefully and by agreement, as well as respecting all international obligations regarding the settling of questions of state succession. It was emphasised once again that the results of aggression would not be recognised.²⁵

At separate sessions of the BH Presidency and Government on 25 December 1991, a Decision to request international recognition for BH from the European Community was adopted. In response to this the Bosnian Serbs, in their self-styled Parliament, proclaimed a “Republika Srpska” /Serbian Republic/ in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The European Community Arbitration Commission replied to the BH Government request for international recognition on 11 January 1992 in its "Opinion No. 4", which concluded that:

- the existing Constitution of the SR BH guaranteed equal rights to the peoples of BH – Muslims, Serbs and Croats, and members of other peoples and ethnic groups,
- the existing Constitution of the SR BH guaranteed respect for human rights,
- the BH authorities had offered guarantees to the Commission that this republic had no territorial claims on neighbouring countries.

The commission assessed that Bosnia and Herzegovina met the conditions for international recognition. However, it noted at the same time that on 9 January the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina had proclaimed the independence of the “Serbian Republic of BH”, within the framework of the

²⁴ According to plans from 1991, the autonomous Serbian districts /SAO/ were intended to cover 62.94% of BH territory, the Croatian Communities /HZ/ 20.88%, while demands for SAO and HZ coincided on 12.63% of the territory. (Kasim Begić, , Bosna i Hercegovina..., map pp. 68-69.)

²⁵ Roland Schönfeld, *Balkankrieg und internationale Gemeinschaft, Südosteuropa Mitteilungen*, Munich 1994., 265.

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Arbitration Commission was in a situation where two states had arisen in BH, the Serbian one and the legal Republic of BH. However, the previous day it had stated in its "Opinion on Yugoslavia" that "the SFRY was in the process of dissolution".²⁶ Its conclusion regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina was thus formulated as a request that all citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be invited to express their will by a referendum to be held under international control.²⁷ Following the opinion of the Arbitration Commission, the SR BH Assembly adopted a Decision on holding a referendum. And words of encouragement arrived from the leading world power, the USA /United States of America/, for the Government of BH.²⁸

A compromise solution was reached in Lisbon on 23 February by EC mediation. Representatives of all three peoples agreed on the continued existence of the republic within its previous borders, and that the internal structure of the republic should be organised according to ethnic criteria.

Following the opinion of the Arbitration Commission the SR BH Assembly adopted a decision on scheduling a referendum, which was to be held on 29 February and 1 March 1992. The Republican Electoral Commission announced the referendum results on 6 March 1992. Of a total of 3,253,568 people with the right to vote in the referendum, 2,073,568 turned out. 2,061,932 or 99.44% of the total number of participants in the referendum to determine the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina voted for a sovereign and independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, a state of equal citizens, the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina – Muslims, Serbs, Croats, and members of the other peoples living in it.²⁹

The referendum was accompanied by clashes in Bosanski Brod, Teslic and Travnik, spreading to Grabež near Bihać, Turbe, Kupres, Doboј and Sarajevo.³⁰ The spread of the armed clashes was the reason the republican leadership announced the mobilisation of the Territorial Defence, and on 5 April granted

26 Kasim Begić, *Bosna i Hercegovina*... 42-44.

27 Peace Conference on Yugoslavia. Opinion on the International Recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the European Community and Member states.

28 Ambassador Warren Zimmerman interpreted American policy regarding BH on several occasions. On 18 January 1992 he stressed in a statement for TV Sarajevo: "We (USA) very firmly believe that the territorial integrity of each republic must be preserved, and that therefore we have clearly told the government of Serbia and military chiefs that we shall never recognise any conquests in Croatia... Absolutely essential too is the territorial integrity of BH, which is currently most under threat from the Serbian leadership in BH, which is attempting to bite off a chunk of it. We believe this to be exceptionally dangerous, and we have told the Serbian and military leadership this. I believe that it would be a tragedy if someone from the Croatian side tried to collaborate with the Serbs in breaking up BH. It would mean Croatia destroying a fundamental principle, on the basis of which it received international support for its own struggle."

In response to a statement that there were such aspirations in Croatia, W. Zimmerman said: "A break-up of Bosnia, no matter who is behind it, cannot receive the support of the USA. We would consider such an action to be an extremely destabilising policy, which violates international norms, and which could lead to very undesirable consequences in our mutual relations." Danas, Zagreb, 27 January 1992, 12).

29 Oslobođenje, Sarajevo, 7 March 1992, 1-3.

30 Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift/ 3/1992, 232.

special powers for the defence of the republic to the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Defence.

At a meeting held in Sarajevo on 18 March 1992 all three parties to the negotiations adopted a Statement of Principles for New Constitutional Arrangements for Bosnia and Herzegovina, attaching an ethnic map as the basis for future negotiations. The result of their initiative was a statement by the leaders of the delegations, an annexe to part of the Statement of Principles for New Constitutional Arrangements for Bosnia and Herzegovina, regarding a working group for the definition of constituent units, which was charged with proposing a map of constituent units, on national principles, while taking into account other criteria (economic, geographical, historical, cultural and educational), as well as the will of the population, to the extent that the members of the working group considered the application of those criteria to be justified.

The continuation of the negotiations did not yield any new results. After the events which followed the international recognition of BH, Cuttilheiro's mission rapidly lost all meaning.³¹

MILITARY AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA FROM THE DATE OF INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION 6 (7) APRIL UNTIL THE END OF 1992

Bosnia and Herzegovina was internationally recognised at the session of the Council of European Community Ministers in Bruxelles on 6 April 1992 and it entered into force on 7 April. With this recognition Bosnia and Herzegovina formally ceased to be part of the SFRJ /Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia/.³² On the same day the "Serbian People's Parliament" declared independence of the "Serbian Republic of BH" and Serbian members left the state presidency demanding 2/3 of the territory.

On 8 April 1992 the Presidency issued a decree introducing a state of emergency in the country. The Presidency assumed all authority, including the authority of Parliament and command of the TO /Territorial Defence/, which used to be the responsibility of the JNA /Yugoslav People's Army/³³.

On the same day the HVO /Croatian Defence Council/ Main Staff in Grude issued an order declaring that the only legal units on the HZ HB territory were

31 Kasim Begić, *Bosna i Herzegovina...* 86-92

32 International recognition of BH on 6 April 1992

33 Europa – Archiv, 1992, Zeittafel 106. Back on 8 April 1992 the HZ HB /Croatian Community of Herceg Bosna/ passed a decision on forming the Croatian Defence Council /HVO/ as the Croatian people's supreme defence body in the HZ HB for the defence of sovereignty of the HZ HB space and protection of the Croatian and other peoples in the HZ HB from any aggressor (C Ribčić, Geneza...p. 54)

HVO units. This decision superseded all decisions of the BH TO which was considered illegal on the territory of HZ HB.³⁴

The Croatian Army General and commander of all Croatian units on the Southern Front from Split to Dubrovnik Janko Bobetko, who was appointed to this military duty by President Franjo Tuđman's decree of 10 April 1992, issued an order for the Croatian army march to the territory of Herzegovina. In an attempt to conceal this decision Croatian Army units were ordered on 12 April to rerelease Croatian Army insignia before they entered Bosnia and Herzegovina. After that the Croatian commander of the Southern Front established a forward command post (IZM) in Grude with Milivoje Petković as commander who was responsible for regular reports to the Croatian military.³⁵

On 15 April 1992 the USA issued a strong criticism of Serbia. Prompted by their declaration CSCE /Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe/ members passed a resolution on 16 April 1992, which de facto represented an ultimatum to the rump Yugoslavia. The resolution, which made the guilt of Serbia and JA /Yugoslav Army/ clear, demanded the withdrawal of JA from BH on 29 April, cessation of support to the Serbian paramilitary forces, cooperation with the UN peacekeeping forces and the solution of minorities' issue. It envisaged suspension of CSCE membership if these conditions were not met.³⁶

On 27 April 1992 the rump Yugoslav Presidency adopted a Constitution whereby the Yugoslav Army lost the right to engage in BH. Then the Serbian leadership circumvented this by transforming the JA into the BH Army of the Serbian Republic. This was ratified on 12 May 1992 when the Serbian Parliament in BH passed a decision to take over the remaining JA as the core of the future Serbian army.³⁷

In Bosnia and Herzegovina a strategy similar to the one in Krajina in Croatia was used – radicalising of population and forming militias which from March carried out coordinated actions. Where necessary JA units were engaged,

34 Attachment: Order of the HVO Main Staff in Grude of 10 April 1992

Source: Documents provided by the Defence Office (hereinafter DUO)

35 Janko Bobetko, *Sve moje pobjede /All My Victories/*, Zagreb 1996; 1-5.

The agreement on military cooperation between Bosnia and Croatia signed on 16 June 1992 meant that documents on the presence of Croatian Army without the knowledge of legal BH authorities could not be countersigned. Part of that agreement reads as follows: "The Republic of Croatia supports the efforts of Bosnia and Herzegovina to preserve its independence and fight aggression, and in that respect shall extend continuous assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina. the Republic of Croatia also supports the efforts of the legal government of Bosnia and Herzegovina to consolidate the defence of the Republic through consolidating all kinds and components of armed resistance into unified armed forces under the command of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Alliance of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia was reconfirmed on 21 July 1992 (Sakib Softić, *Pravna priroda rata...* pp. 225 – 226).

36 OMZ, 3/1992, p. 315

37 Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurt, 15 May 1992, p. 2. The proof of this is B. Jović's official statement (TV series The Death of Yugoslavia, part II)

however, not as portrayed “to separate the warring parties” but to carry out offensive operations on Serbian units’ side.³⁸

In March and April 1992 the JNA, paramilitary groups from Serbia and paramilitary forces of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Serbs captured in coordinated attacks the following main roads: Bosanski Brod (27 March), Derventa (27 March), Bijeljina (2 April), Kupres (4 April), Foča (8 April), Zvornik (8 April), Višegrad (13 April), Bosanski Šamac (17 April), Vlasenica (18 April), Brčko (30 April) and Prijedor (30 April). At the same time Muslims, who constituted the majority of population in these areas, were expelled. “Clearing the terrain of Muslim extremists” was the official information of the Belgrade media. Part of the population was killed and a great part was forced to move out and sign documents renouncing their property. Concurrent with the expulsion of population there was a process of destruction of cultural monuments with the objective of removing the traces of their existence, eradicating the historical roots and justifying the claim on territory.³⁹

At the end of July 1992 the Bosnia and Herzegovina Serbs clearly indicated the borders of the future state. Pursuant to the relevant decision of the Serbian Parliament the western border went along the Una river. To the north the border was the river Sava, to the east the FRY /Federal Republic of Yugoslavia/ border, and the southern border was supposed to be established after the agreement with the Croats. The Serbian parliament also stressed that the Serbs must get an outlet to the Adriatic Sea, having Neum in mind where the majority of the population was Croatian (87%). Such drawing of borders was mainly to the detriment of Muslims, who were practically left with no more territory. They even requested predominantly Muslim territories, including Zvornik (60% Muslims), Višegrad (63%), Goražde (70%), Srebrenica (73%) and Bosanska Krupa (75%), which were taken eventually.⁴⁰

38 See attachment: Fifth page of the Conclusion on the assessment of the situation with regard to distribution of weapons in the book *Etnicko čišćenje /Ethnic Cleansing/*; Genocide for “Greater Serbia”; Documentation of the Society for Threatened Peoples, edited by Tilman Zülch, Sarajevo, January 1996, p. 80.

39 An example of a town where ethnic cleansing was carried out fast and brutally, is Prijedor. According to official information in 1991, 112,000 people lived in Prijedor municipality (44% Muslims, 42% Serbs, 6% Croats and 8% others). In April 1992 new authority was established and Muslims and Croats lost their jobs. Fifty thousand Muslims and 15,000 people of non-Serbian ethnic background were driven out or killed. Twenty-five mosques and 11 mesd’id /Muslim place of worship/ were blown up, 10,000 apartments were searched, looted and destroyed. After Kozarac had been taken by Serbian army special units and paramilitary formations on 27 May 1992, ethnic cleansing started. The camps in Trnopolje, Omarska and Keraterm were established. After this the “cleansing” of other places began. In order to create room for them women, children, the elderly and the sick, who were not a threat, started to be deported. They were brought in cattle cars close to Doboj or in buses and trailer trucks to the front near Travnik, and under sniper and artillery fire driven to the territory controlled by the BH Army (Alexandra Stieglmayer, *Krieg gegen Frauen*, Breslau, 1993, pp. 112 – 115). A similar process went on in other areas controlled by BH Serbs. Over a million of these who had been displaced from the beginning of 1992, mainly through Serbian ethnic cleansing, remained in Bosnia. Most of them were Muslims who were crammed into overpopulated enclaves and towns on the territory controlled by the Bosnian government.

40 Thomas Brey, *Logik des Wahns*, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1993, p. 125

Concurrent with the events in Bosnia and Herzegovina there was international diplomatic activity. On 12 May 1992 CSCE members, except for Yugoslavia, passed a declaration on the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina. CSCE high officials condemned the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly the ruthless attacks on Sarajevo and fighting in other parts of the country prompted by the engagement of air force and heavy JA artillery. The declaration confirmed serious violations of the CSCE principles by the JA and Belgrade organs, which led to self-isolation. It was demanded that the JA should either put itself under BH government's command or withdraw, disarm and disband. The state organs in Belgrade were identified as responsible for implementing these demands.⁴¹

In its Resolution no. 752 of 16 May 1992 the UN Security Council demanded the cessation of conflict and end of external military involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly that of the JA and HV /Croatian Army/. It was demanded that either they withdraw from BH, come under the Bosnian government control or disband and put their weapons under international control. It was stressed that a violent change of borders would not be accepted. With a view to supporting this provision Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia and Croatia were admitted as members of the UN on 22 May 1992.⁴²

On the basis of the fact that the Republic of Serbia, Republic of Montenegro, the Yugoslav Army, and Serbian Democratic Party terrorists carried out aggression on the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina /R BH/ the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina passed a decision on declaration of a state of war on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and authorised the armed forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina to undertake the necessary measures to organise all-people's resistance in order to realise the envisaged goals. In the same decision the R BH undertook to observe the provisions of international law and conventions regulating the acts of a state at war, and Security Council decisions and initiatives on keeping international peace and security, in line with Article 51 of the UN Charter.⁴³ On the same day the R BH Presidency passed the Order on declaration of general public mobilisation on the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁴⁴

The Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina platform for the future development of the country adopted on 26 June 1992 is a historic document adopted in war conditions and contains fundamental components of the development of the country after the war.

In the first place the document stipulates that Bosnia and Herzegovina ought to be a sovereign and independent country of citizens, constituent and equal peoples - Muslims, Serbs and Croats, and members of other peoples who live in it.

41 ÖMZ, 5/1992, pp.412 - 413

42 Ibid, p. 415

43 Official Gazette of the R BH, no. 7, 20 June 1992, p. 234 .

44 Official Gazette of the R BH, 20 June 1992, pp. 234 – 235.

The Republic is to be constituted following the principles of parliamentary and civic democracy, which in the first place means market economy, a multi-party system, and human rights and liberties. The multinational and multi-religious character of the community whose internal organisation is based on regional and local self-management is emphasized in the document.

The sovereignty of a country is realised on the whole territory defined by the borders recognised by the international community. State, legislative and judiciary authorities are realised at Republic level. The legislative body of the Republic is the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Assembly and its two chambers: the Chamber of Citizens and the Chamber of Peoples, with respective jurisdictions. The platform defines the kind of international relations in which BH is interested. Its special interest in becoming an equal member of the European Community is stated and that relations with other countries ought to be based on mutual respect and equality.

As the country is under attack the BH Presidency will attempt to negotiate peace based on certain principles and conditions, i.e. Bosnia and Herzegovina will not accept negotiations based on ethnically pure territories or regional division of BH on ethnic basis exclusively. It will never accept any territorial or demographic changes and advantages gained by war and violence. The platform also specifies the political grounds for all-people's defence war.

The common multiethnic front includes forces fighting for a sovereign and independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, coexistence and ethnic equality. The armed forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina include in their ranks members of all nationalities who live in it.⁴⁵

45 In response to the establishment of national armies, units classified as Muslim started to appear, but this by no means prevented members of all ethnic backgrounds in Bosnia from joining the BH A ranks. The founding principles of the 7th Muslim Brigade were not new. It was part of the tradition dating back from the period of Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. From 4 November 1881 Muslim conscripts from Bosnia and Herzegovina joined the Austro-Hungarian army. As provisions covering religious requirements and traditions of Christian and Jewish conscripts from Bosnia and Herzegovina were part of the k.u.k. /Imperial and Royal/ army regulations, the inclusion of Muslims into its ranks required the inclusion of specific provisions. Fully recognising the religious freedom of Muslims the Imperial and Royal Ministry of War issued an Order on the treatment of Muslim soldiers during their active service.

This order specified Friday as a day of rest for Muslim soldiers. It also included three days for Ramadan Bayram and four days for Kurban Bayram. Muslim soldiers were allowed to prepare their food separately and buy the relevant equipment if it had not been provided by the /quartermaster/. They were given new utensils for cooking, which was especially marked in order not to get mixed with other utensils. If such utensils became 'unclean' in terms of religious requirements, they were to be replaced by new ones. The fact that Muslims were forbidden to consume pork, lard and wine for religious reasons had to be observed at all times.

When not on duty Muslim soldiers were to be allowed time to worship in the mosque from 11 – 13 hours on Fridays, and an hour before the sunrise on both bayrams. Special space had to be arranged for worship (corridor, a room in the barracks) although worship could be performed outside as well. The Bosnia and Herzegovina conscript military departments were to be given a sufficient number of copper dishes (glasses) and jugs (ibriks). If a Muslim soldier died there was no music at the funeral - no drums or trumpets, because according to the Koran a funeral must be performed in silence. After the establishment of Bosnia and Herzegovina military ritual sections two military imams in the rank of military chaplain 2nd class were to be appointed.

Finally, an appeal is issued to all patriotic forces to join the patriotic front fighting for the suppression of aggression and establishment of peace, freedom, law and order on the whole state territory of the republic. The appeal did not exclude an invitation to all those on the other side to join the armed forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina provided they did not have the blood of innocent victims on their hands.⁴⁶

The HZ HB Croats, like the Serbs, saw the solution in the cantonisation of BH. They were supported by the Croatian President Tudman who persisted in supporting confederal relations between BH and Croatia. Despite the differences, the Croats and the Muslims collaborated in various forms. Different objectives were apparent among other things when the HVO and BH TO clashed at various places in Central Bosnia in July 1992 (Travnik, Jajce, Bugojno and Gornji Vakuf). The reasons for clashes were political objectives manifested through attempts at control, i.e. establishment of civilian government.⁴⁷

The Decree on HZ HB armed forces passed by the HZ HB Presidency on 3 July 1992 established the HZ HB armed forces as the fundamental provider of armed resistance which protects the HZ HB sovereignty and its territorial integrity.⁴⁸

This decree indicates that the HZ HB behaved as an independent sovereign state community, which seceded from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and coordinated its armed forces operations with the Republic of Croatia. Analysis of the regulations passed by the HZ HB Presidency and HZ HB HVO indicates that the HZ HB established a functional sovereign government in its area independently from the Republic of BH, with a number of elements taken from the Republic of Croatia. Regulations on the establishment of government, organisation and

The tradition of respect for Muslim soldiers, which was introduced during the Austro-Hungarian period, was completely continued in the new state. On 31 May 1919 the SHS /Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/ Kingdom Ministry of Army and Navy issued an Order on the provision of food for Muslim soldiers and recognition of their religious customs.

In the Second World War, from 1943, a large number of Muslims began to join the people's liberation movement because it was the only one offering them prospects for the future. As a rule they joined the existing or newly formed ethnically mixed units in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but in some parts special Muslim partisan units were formed, the 16th Muslim Brigade, which was formed in Tuzla in 1944, being the largest. Even in socialist Yugoslavia this tradition of Muslim partisan units was kept and respected.

46 The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina platform for the future development of our country was adopted on 26 June 1992. BH will never accept peace negotiations based on the creation of ethnically pure territories or regional division of BH on ethnic basis exclusively, Oslobođenje /daily newspaper/, Sarajevo, 28 June 1992. Attachment: Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Platform for the Future Development of the Country.

47 ÖMZ, p 412. Tensions in the Croatian – Bosniak alliance were increasing as soon as Mate Boban's faction, which advocated the division of Bosnia, became dominant. These authorities established control over the HVO through economic subsidies, assistance with security and direct military support by regular Croatian Army (HV) forces operating in BH. Complete consolidation of this militant faction within the HVO was facilitated by the inability of the Bosnian government to establish authority in the throughout the country.

48 Text of the HVO members' pledge:

I, soldier solemnly pledge to loyally and honourably carry out the duties which as a member of the HVO I am bound to perform, and dutifully and responsibly follow official orders and commands.

I pledge to protect and defend my country Herceg Bosna, its right to exist and all its citizens with my own life.

jurisdictions of HZ HB bodies and structure, organisation of government, economic and financial system, as well as issues symbolising the HZ HB statehood (language, script, currency, coat of arms, flag, seals, etc.) indicate an attempt to establish an independent state community and its government.⁴⁹

On 14 September 1992 the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina ruled that the declaration of HZ HB was unconstitutional and rendered invalid several decisions passed by the HZ HB Presidency on 3 July 1992.⁵⁰

Croatian influence on the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina was increasingly apparent. On the one hand Croatia was bound by different agreements (with the European Community, CSCE and the UN). On the other the interests of the HZ HB led to the Republic of Croatia intervention. Although the signing of the military alliance between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina was announced in mid-June, the President of BH Alija IZETBEGOVIĆ specified that an agreement had been reached that “volunteers from Croatia would be subordinated to the BH TO command”. On 18 June the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs denied signing a military pact, and Tuđman and Izetbegović indicated an intention to achieve this after the peace agreement was signed. Already on 25 June Tuđman indicated the prospect of Croatian Army (HV) intervention in BH because the war was threatening the fundamental interests of the Croats. To appease the BH Government he declared that Croatia had recognised BH independence, and on 8 July he distanced himself from the HZ HB. Also, Mate BOBAN, President of the HZ HB government maintained that the HZ HB was only an interim solution.

Relations between the HVO and BH TO remained ambiguous. On his part President Izetbegović was trying to put HVO units under common command, which met with great resistance on the Croatian side. The BH state presidency passed a decision on forming a common army on 4 July. The Bosnian Defence Minister Jerko Doko stated that the HVO and BH TO ought to be under common command. The newly formed BH Army was to be subordinated to the General Staff under the supreme command of the BH Presidency.⁵¹

49 ÖMZ, 1993, p. 412. The regulations passed by the HZ HB Presidency and HZ HB HVO in 1992 and first half of 1993 created a wide network of bodies and institutions, indicating an ambition to create a state community separate from the Republic of BH, which would represent a sovereign and functional government for the population on its territory in extraordinary circumstances.

The application of HZ HB regulations, which were in contravention of the constitutional organisation of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was a direct rejection of R BH authority over the HZ HB territory. The HZ HB Presidency established a functional government system directly and through the HZ HB HVO. The HZ HB included in its legal system a number of fundamental and symbolic elements of the constitution of the Republic of Croatia, established an a functional government capable of implementing its regulations and other decisions by using physical force on its citizens and the Republic of BH alike. Thus the HZ HB imposed itself as an effective state government and pushed out the sovereign government of the R BH, which gradually lost its position as supreme and sovereign state government on the HZ HB territory (Dr Ciril Ribičić, *Geneza...* p. 67),

50 Official Gazette of the R BH, no. 16, 14 September 1992, pp. 450 – 452.

51 Text of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Army members' pledge when joining the service:

From 26 – 28 August Great Britain, which presided the European Community at the time, convened an extended international conference in London whose task was to promote the current peace efforts by expanding them to other countries and institutions, and to increase the pressure for peace. In addition to former Yugoslav republics all members of the European Union, the USA, China, Russia, Japan, Canada, the CSCE chair Czechoslovakia, the Organisation of Islamic Conference chair Turkey, and the neighbouring countries Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania, were invited to the conference. The conference adopted a catalogue of fundamental principles for future negotiations, including the following: items specifying that areas occupied by force would not be recognised; all sides must participate in negotiations; compulsory recognition of the population's full rights; ethnic cleansing must cease and camps must be disbanded; obligatory respect of borders, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states on Yugoslav territory; and mutual recognition of all states. The conference established the conditions for negotiation and measures to prevent violence, and a program for the continuation of the conference was drafted.⁵²

Relations between the HVO and BH A, and Croatia and BH remained ambiguous. Presidents Tuđman and Izetbegović signed an agreement in New York on 21 September 1992, which envisaged creating a body to coordinate defence efforts until the end of the war.⁵³

After the presidents of Croatia and BH Tuđman and Izetbegović put the military alliance in operation by the agreement on joint HVO and BH A supreme command, on 6 October an agreement was to be reached between Mate BOBAN and Alija Izetbegović. However, the Croatian – Muslim alliance was already about to collapse.

The UN mediator Cyrus VANCE announced that the Serbs and Croats were about to reach an agreement – the military leaderships of the Serbian Republic in BH and HZ HB agreed on a truce. Radovan Karadžić announced the release of Croatian prisoners and Mate BOBAN announced the release of Serbian prisoners. At the end of September Tuđman and Čosić met for closed talks. They reached an agreement identical to the Cvarković– Maček one in 1939. A great part of Herzegovina and Bosnia was to be given to Croatia. Besides, all territorial occupation in BH would be recognised. Croatian units would not take part in battles where BH A forces were trying to recapture areas taken by the Serbs.⁵⁴

I solemnly pledge to defend the independence, sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I shall carry out all duties and tasks of a member of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Army in a responsible and disciplined manner. I shall persevere in defending its freedom and honour. (Official Gazette of the R BH, no. 11, 1 August 1992, p. 287.

52 Erklärung zum Abschluß der internationalen Jugoslawien-Konferenz in London vom 26. und 27. August 1992, EA /Europa – Archiv/, 19/1992, D. pp. 584 - 590

53 ÖMZ, 6/1992, p.494

54 This coalition was demonstrated by the example of Bosanski Brod too. For seven months the town had resisted all attacks without effort, and then it suddenly fell during the night. "The Croats withdrew behind the Sava river almost without resistance" claimed the Serbian

As one of the solutions for the Bosnia and Herzegovina issue, Franjo Tuđman believed that the division of BH should entail Serbia annexing the BH areas populated by Serbs and Croatia annexing those populated by Croats. This division, Tuđman believed, would enable the formation of a small Muslim or Islamic state in Central Bosnia. This, Tuđman believed, would satisfy the Serbs and the Croats, as well as the Muslims, and it would end any pretensions to a sizeable Islamic state in the heart of Europe. Tuđman stated this opinion to the American Newsweek magazine journalist, noting that the solution for BH may be for it to remain an independent state, but based on confederal or cantonal principles. In Tuđman's opinion Serbia's objective was to annex the BH regions populated by Serbs, and this situation would make the Croatian population feel threatened not only by the aggressive Serbian politics, but by Muslim intention to create a unitary Islamic state. For this reason Tuđman certainly saw the division of BH and annexation of most of its territory to Serbia and Croatia as an acceptable solution.⁵⁵

In mid-October 1992 there was fierce fighting between the HVO and BH TO in Mostar, Prozor, Vitez and Novi Travnik. After that Mate Boban announced that the alliance between the Croats and the Muslims had ended. The Bosnia and Herzegovina armed forces commander Sefer Halilović's appeal for the fighting to cease was rejected by the HVO with the explanation that the HVO would not carry out orders by the BH A Supreme Command.⁵⁶

The real reason for the break of the alliance was that the Croats agreed with the Serbs on the division of the country at the Muslims' expense and for this reason the HVO wanted to put the non-Serbian areas in BH under its control. The HVO deliberately provoked clashes with the BH A to force BH President Izetbegović to divide the country and extend its authority to the territory of Bosnia. An indirect proof of such intentions was Alija Izetbegović's open letter to Franjo Tuđman where he accused the HVO of not only provocations but of a "propaganda war" against BH, and Croatia keeping back the military equipment for Bosnia and Herzegovina units. At the end of the letter Izetbegović accused Tuđman for the fall of Jajce because the ammunition supply sent for town defenders had been kept back.⁵⁷

Although Tuđman and Izetbegović formally reinforced the alliance, Tuđman maintained his position that Bosnia and Herzegovina ought to be divided on the basis of ethnic criteria, demanding that BH consists of three constitutive entities, converging to the Serbian view and request for division, and reminiscent

Colonel Lisica celebrated in the Belgrade media as the conqueror of Bosanski Brod. "There was no fighting whatsoever. The day before the Croats pulled out the heavy artillery and infantry units". (Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 31/1992, p. 119.; statement taken from the Belgrade daily Politika)

55 Oslobođenje, Sarajevo, 17 October 1992. p. 1

56 ÖMZ, 1/1993, p.12

57 Oslobođenje, Sarajevo, 5 November 1992

of the agreement of 1939 whereby the Croats and the Serbs divided BH along the Mostar – Travnik line.⁵⁸

Internal arguments arose in the BH HDZ /Croatian Democratic Union/ between HDZ president Miljenko Brkić and Mate Boban who represented the HZ HB Croats. Brkić saw himself more as a representative of all Croats in BH, and as 2/3 of the Croats lived outside western Herzegovina, and outside the HZ HB, he was representing the position of BH Government. Finally, on 24 October a decision was made in this struggle for political power and Mate BOBAN was elected the new president of the BH HDZ. His first move was to recall Stjepan Kljujić as member of BH Presidency.⁵⁹

While Croatian and Muslim forces attacked by Serbian forces in Posavina were offering successful defence, from 20 – 27 October fierce fighting occurred in Travnik, Novi Travnik, Vitez and Prozor. These clashes spilled out to Mostar, Jablanica and Konjic. It was as late as 27 October that the unconditional truce stopped the fighting.⁶⁰ At the same time the Serbian offensive on Jajce ended. The capture of the town was a result of an ineffective alliance between the Croats and the Muslims. After Jajce had fallen the focus of Serbian attacks moved towards Travnik.

In October and November 1992 attempts at negotiation by the international community, particularly the UN and the Geneva Conference, did not help to calm down the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The UN Security Council adopted Resolution no. 780 on 6 October 1992. It envisaged the formation of a commission whose task would be to gather information on war crimes and offences in the former Yugoslavia. Concrete threats were not listed, and experts were to gather evidence for future proceedings against war criminals.⁶¹ At the end of the European political cooperation meeting in Bruxelles on 5 October, EC members issued a statement fully supporting mediators OWEN and Cyrus VANCE in their efforts to stop hostilities and find a peaceful solution. The European Community and its members appealed to the United Nations for urgent action in order to implement as soon as possible the London Conference agreements, including no-fly zones over the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was also stated that ample evidence of crimes – among which, in particular, were mass killings and ethnic cleansing perpetrated mainly by the Serbs - must be systematically gathered

58 ÖMZ, 5/1992, p. 684

59 ÖMZ, 1/1993, p.13

60 Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurt, 29 October 1992. Croatian army's open participation in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina started with attack on Prozor on 23 October 1992. The attacks were carried out with the assistance of the 114th Šibenik and 113th Split Croatian Army brigades at the time, supported by special units Divovi /Giants/ and Tigrovi /Tigers/ which were under the HV Main Staff command. More than 1,500 different calibre shells were fired on Prozor on 23/24 October 1992. There were no Croats in town that night because they received a timely warning and were evacuated from the town (Mesud Hero, Prozor 1992 – 1995, Hronika zločina /The Chronicle of a Crime/, Sarajevo 2003).

61 Resolution 780 (1992) des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen zur Sammlung von Informationen über Verletzungen des humanitären Rechts im ehemaligen Jugoslawien, verabschiedet am 6 Oktober 1992 in New York, EA, 7/1993.

and assessed.⁶² The UN Council Resolution no. 781 of 9 October 1992 banned flights over Bosnia and Herzegovina to provide security for humanitarian flights to Sarajevo. However, the introduction of these measures did not envisage the use of force.⁶³

There was more and more news on crimes perpetrated by Serbian forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which international organisations condemned a number of times at meetings in November and December 1992.⁶⁴ The situation of the Muslims in the country was the subject of the extraordinary meeting of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) foreign ministers in Jeda on 2 and 3 December 1992, which was attended observers and visitors, including the co-president of the Geneva Conference, the presidents of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania. The co-presidents of the Conference Vance and Owen voted against a military intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina rejecting the lifting of embargo on arms supply to the BH government. In the closing statement the OIC requested a supply of arms for the BH government in order to provide self-defence. The

62 Bulletin, Presse und Informations – Amt Bundesregierung, Bonn, Nr 112, 15 Oktober 1992, p. 1039

63 Resolution no. 781 des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen über ein Verbot militärischer Flüge im Luftraum über Bosnien-Herzegowina, verabschiedet am 9 Oktober 1992 in New York, EA, 7/1993, pp.147 - 148

64 The Association for the Protection of Threatened Peoples from Goetingen describes the crime of genocide perpetrated on the territory controlled by the Serbs:

- establishment of over a hundred concentration and prisoner camps with more than 100 detainees, predominantly civilian, who were deported directly from their homes;
- killing of more than 10,000 detainees in the following death camps: Omarska, Keraterm, Luka Brčko and Foča;
- deportation of thousands of women, children, the elderly and the sick in closed freight cars without food or water in summer 1992;
- systematic mass rape, mostly of Bosniak women, and their deportation to camps;
- destruction of hundreds of villages and towns;
- massacre of the population of a number of Bosnian municipalities and burying the dead in more than 60 mass graves;
- killing and persecution of more than 1.5 million Bosnians of non-Serbian ethnic background – predominantly Bosniaks, Croats, members of other Catholic minorities and Roma;
- encircling and starving about 750,000 Bosnians in their towns and villages, and systematic artillery attacks on them;
- persecution and killing of numerous Serbs who sided with their non-Serb fellow citizens;
- persecution, arrest and liquidation of Islamic and Catholic priests;
- destruction of Islamic and Catholic material culture, including 100-year old town centres, more than 650 mosques and 350 Catholic churches;
- discrimination against the non-Serbian population who remained in the occupied territories and their daily harassment through looting, rape, maltreatment and attempted murder;
- confiscation of property of the non-Serbian population who were expelled or remained in the occupied territories, and coercing statements on relinquishing ownership of houses, land, and investment and consumption property;
- Giving Serbian names to Bosnian toponyms;
- introducing special provisions for those who remained in the occupied homeland, abrogating human and civil rights, and house detention for a great number of male population

Attachment: Tilman ZÜLCH, Ethnic Cleansing – Genocide of Greater Serbia, Sarajevo, January 1996.

participants of the conference did not exclude the use of military power pursuant to Article 42 of the United Nations Charter.⁶⁵

Failure to implement the conclusions of international organisations (EC, CSCE and UN) led to the tightening of the UN Security Council sanctions against the FRY in Resolution no. 787 of 16 November 1992.⁶⁶ On 18 November the UN Security Council adopted Security Council Resolution no. 798 (1992) condemning systematic detention and rape of women in BH.⁶⁷ At the third session of CSCE members' foreign ministers in Stockholm on 14 and 15 December 1992 the ministers agreed that Serbia, Montenegro and Serbian forces operating in BH were the main culprits for the conflict in BH. Unconditional cessation of human rights violations was demanded, particularly the practice of ethnic cleansing and systematic rape of Muslim women.⁶⁸

At the session of the NATO Council of Ministers in Brussels on 17 December 1992 the Yugoslav Army, Yugoslav leadership and Bosnia and Herzegovina Serbs were condemned for ethnic cleansing, human rights violations, torture, murder, systematic rape of women, abductions, destruction of religious buildings and other acts aimed at the creation of ethnically pure territories.⁶⁹

The scope of the UN Security Council Resolutions was limited by different political interests of EC members and permanent UN members, which influenced the decisions and methods of implementation of the adopted conclusions. The reaction to violations of human rights remained only in the form of verbal condemnations and threats.

65 EA, 1/93, Z. 11.

66 Resolution no. 787 (1992) des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen über die Durchsetzung der wirtschaftlichen Sanktionen gegen Rest – Jugoslawien, verabschiedet am 16 November 1992 in New York, EA, 7/1993, D. pp. 148-151.

67 Resolution des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen über die systematische Internierung und Vergewaltigung von Frauen in Bosnien und Herzegovina, verabschiedet am 18 Dezember 1992 in New York, EA, 7/1992, D. pp. 154 - 155

68 Bulletin No. 138, 18 December 1992, pp 1257 – 1259.

69 Bulletin No. 141, 28 December 1992, pp. 1308.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF MR.ONUR ÖYMEN TO THE SYMPOSIUM OF BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA

Onur Öymen*

The recent history of Bosnia Herzegovina should not be dissociated from the dissolution of the Yugoslavia. The first move of the secessionist activities started from Croatia and Slovenia. But right after Bosnia Herzegovina also demonstrated the willingness to declare itself as an independent government. Afterwards came Macedonia. The interesting thing is that despite the fact that all these countries should have been treated on equal footing, there was preferential treatment for Croatia and Slovenia. What was the reason of that?

There are several hypothesis. One of them is that this two former Yugoslav Republics were Catholic countries and there was an affection in some Western governments towards Catholic governments. This was one explanation.

Another one was that this two governments were part and parcel of former Roman Empire. This was an historic background for giving them a preferential treatment. What is noticed is that some religious leaders of these countries had their representatives in some European countries before the event. And people say that this played a role in the special treatment of these two countries. When it came to Bosnia Herzegovina the international community has done too little too late.

The issue was left to the United Nations and the European Countries prepared to establish a Bosnian contact group and all these feelings have been conducted through the Bosnian Contact group. So in this group there were some new countries, but also Russia. Other countries which have links with Bosnian nation for historical and cultural reasons like Turkey were left out of this group. They were even not informed about the content of negotiations. These negotiations were a complete failure. From the beginning the Turkish government said that to stop the Serbian aggression against the Muslims. NATO should have started a serious air operation as a deterrent and saved the lives of many innocent people. But no such action had taken place for a long time. Negotiations directed by some European officials have not produced any tangible result. At the end of the day, UN peacekeeping force has been established and there was some limited operations. The end of hostilities could be achieve thanks to the intervention of NATO. Russia also joined straightforward and it became – so-called –a joint operation of NATO and Russia. This operation provided the end of hostilities but in the meantime almost 200,000 people have lost their lives. The performance of all Western countries to protect the innocent civilians in their areas of responsibilities was not satisfactory.

* Deputy of Istanbul in the Turkish Parliament – Ret. Ambassador

After the end of the hostilities, the Western powers have failed to arrest the notorious leaders of the Serbian leaders of Bosnia like Karadzic and Mladic. This was also an important failure. It fostered the morale the radical Serbian elements. After the end of the real conflict, Bosnian people continued to suffer casualties.

At the end of the day there was progress in the way of democratization of Bosnia. But the Dayton arrangements a stable and viable government in Bosnia. The crisis of tri-presidential leadership and the continuation of armed elements in the maintenance of armies in the Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian sides and the failure to create a real united states system put serious obstacles. So at this moment, progress realized in Bosnia Herzegovina is much less than that have been expected after a robust NATO intervention.

The future of former Yugoslav Republics have not been fully stimulated so far. We believe that the international community needs to play a more important role, in political field, in security and also in the financial field. So more contributions are needed for real development of the economy and also to end the human sufferings. At this moment there is still a high number of refugees in every part of Bosnia and in case of the trouble of international peacekeeping forces and the police force, the fate of this refugees became questionable. The European Union assumed some responsibilities of the UN peacekeeping troops and this created a new situation. It will also be a test case for the European Union to demonstrate the ability of the Union to provide security in a post-crisis situation.

So Bosnia-Herzegovina problem should be studied in all these respects. Turkey from the beginning has played an active role within the context of the Islamic Conference. Turkey took place in the various Committees of the Islamic Conference. Turkey has provided financial assistance. Turkish armed forces played a very important role in providing mutual understanding in the region. At political level Turkey has strong interests. Turkish Presidents, some Prime Ministers visited Bosnia several times. But today despite all the efforts, the results are not at the level of expectations. Still, there was some progress in Sarajevo, in Mostar, in Tuzla, in some other areas, but less progress achieved in the Serbian areas. Return of the refugees to the Serbian part of Bosnia still needs to be imperished. The international community like the United Nations High Commission for Refugees played an important role but their means were relatively limited to provide all that is needed. At this moment we need reactivation of the interest of international community and we need to focus more on Bosnia Herzegovina to provide better security, better understanding and faster democratization and a sustainable development.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA – TURKEY
1992-1995
(Observations)

Hajrudin Somun*

It is not easy to speak about the deep complexity of relations between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Turkey, and particularly between Bosnian Muslims, or Bosniacs and Turks in recent times. Historians should give a judgment and separate the developing rational and constructive elements of those relations from ignorance, misunderstandings and prejudices that are often hidden behind the mist of profound emotions inherited from the long common history. I do not dare to give such a judgment. Even if I have had an academic qualification and such an ambition, it would be too early for to draw a valid conclusion. Therefore, it is my intention and maybe a duty as well, to give some observations about the Bosnian-Turkish ties during the war 1992-1995, as an active witness of those historical events.

In spite of immanent developments and changing conditions around them during the 125 years since Ottomans left Bosnia, both Bosnians and Turks still keep some stereotypes, if not prejudices, about each other. Such old perceptions are emerging especially in extraordinary events, such as the deluges of immigrants from Balkans and the Serbian aggression against Bosnia. So, at the first sight to a Bosnian, Turks often imagine before all a refugee, *muhajir*. And Bosnians were long time preserving an image of Turk as an Ottoman broad-shouldered feudal lord, a picturesque *bey* dominating over his subjects and having special affiliation toward the Bosnian people and land.

In this case, of course, I don't mean stereotypes of Turks by Balkan Christian peoples, particularly Serbs, which have been widely experienced once more in the recent attempt to eradicate all Muslims from the region.

In our framework, it may be appropriate reminding on the first visit by a high official of the Republic of Turkey to Sarajevo, in thirties last century. It was literary described by a prominent first-hand witness.

Most of around thirty thousand Muslims of Sarajevo gathered for receiving long waited guest. The streets of the town were entirely lined with veiled women and men wearing *fezes*. "The faces of the men were all turned upwards to one hope. The women were as expressive in their waiting, though their faces were hidden behind *ferejas*. It was as they thought of themselves as participants in a sacred rite. They were rapt, hallucinated, intoxicated with an old royalty."

* Former Bosnia and Herzegovina Ambassador to Ankara

When the delegation appeared, however, the great cheers that crowd had in its hearts for days were never given. For accompanying Minister Spaho and General Maric were followed, "so far as the expectations of the crowd were concerned, by nobody. The two little men in bowlers and trim suits, very dapper and well-shaven, might have been Frenchmen darkened in the colonial service. It took some time for the crowd to realize that they were in fact Ismet Inonu, the Turkish Prime Minister, and Kazim Ozalip, his War Minister. Even after the recognition had been established the cheers were not given. No great degree of disguise concealed the disfavour with which these two men in bowler hats looked on the thousands they saw before them, all wearing the fez and veil which their leader the Ataturk made it a crime to wear in Turkey."

There was no cheering also when the guests told Moslems of Sarajevo that they felt utmost enthusiasm for the Yugoslavian idea, and had pointed out that if the South Slaves did not form a unified state the will of the great powers could sweep over the Balkan Peninsula as it chose. They had said not one word of the ancient tie that linked the Bosnian Muslims to the Turks, nor had they made any reference to Islam.

The first-hand witness of this story, Rebecca West, concluded that she has seen at those moments in Sarajevo "the final collapse of the old Ottoman Empire". Perhaps I should regret for citing this very author, well known for her unhidden animosity toward Turks and affection toward Serbs. However, she is an unavoidable source - no matter how wrong and malicious it could be - on Balkan developments in the first half of 20th century.

Advocates of violence and hatred as the main cause of failure of all unification attempts and friendly relations among South Slaves, as it was Rebecca West before the Second World War or Lord Owen during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, were considering that such failures and confrontations sprang, ultimately, from history and were inherited from the Ottoman times. They were intentionally avoiding the fact that Bosnia, on the contrary to Yugoslavia, had survived and straddled all divisions in the region, existing successively within the Ottoman and then Austro-Hungarian empires and evolving into a unique statehood consisted of closely intermingled population of Catholics, orthodox Christians and Muslims.

First tensions and political confrontations, then violence and military conflicts which have spread over Yugoslavia 1991-1992, were embarrassing Turkey and demanding to determine its position. Turkey was reasonably concerned. Successfully preserving peace in the country for seven decades and prudently avoiding to be involved in destructions of the Second World War, it was worried the new wave of violence from Balkans not to reach Bosphorus.

Turkish policy was to preserve Yugoslavia as long as it is possible, following the continuous support given to that South Slav state, in fact a widened Serbian kingdom, from the beginning of the Turkish Republic. There was a

particular strategic reason, mentioned above by Ismet Inonu to his Bosnian hosts. Even Atatürk, probably being deceived by the leading Serbian politician Nikola Pašić that Serbs refused an invitation by the European powers to participate in the coalition forces against Turkey, had a special affinity toward Yugoslavia. In recent times, some Turkish politicians were also mentioning not very convincing comparison of Yugoslavia with Turkey, because of its 28 ethnic groups.

Such a steady support started to be more and more irresolute with beginning of the Yugoslav crisis. It became conditional already in the spring 1991, when Ankara was consecutively visited by Kiro Gligorov and Alija Izetbegović, presidents of Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, still parts of Yugoslavia. They exposed their own proposal for keeping Yugoslavia united in a confederation. However, if their plan failed, they were seeking Turkish support and help for efforts of those two republics to achieve independence. President Turgut Özal expressed hope Yugoslavia would survive, but if its consisting republics become independent, they are going to be recognized by Turkey.

At the end of January 1992 president of Serbia Slobodan Milošević suddenly visited Ankara, still hoping to save Yugoslavia and get promise by Turkey not to recognize new republics. If they must do it, let them recognize Slovenia and Croatia, he demanded, but not Macedonia and Bosnia. It was obvious that Turkey became fully aware of Milošević's intention to keep at least a rump Yugoslavia under the Serbian control. He personally was completely discredited, because only a week later, on February 6th, Turkey recognized all four former Yugoslav republics, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, in spite that it still had not held a referendum on independence.

Curiously, Bulgaria, an implacable foe of Serbia at Balkans, was the only country which had recognized Bosnia before Turkey. They did it ten days earlier.

Accordingly, in keeping conformity with its regional Balkan policy, Turkey had an active and positive approach toward efforts of Yugoslav federal units for achieving independence. It has already shown a special inclination and sympathy toward Bosnia and Herzegovina.

However, such an inclination could not save Bosnia to become, after Croatia, target of the Serbian aggression as well.

Once started, in April 1992, Turkey has not spared efforts to stop the war in Bosnia and to ease its consequences by different ways and means. I shall point out some of them.

1. Turkey launched a "diplomatic offensive" in international organizations, especially in the United Nations and the Organization of The Islamic Conference. Great part of the Turkish diplomacy, led by Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin, was engaged on the cause of Bosnia. First Bosnian officials were invited to the OIC Ministerial meeting in Istanbul, to explain what was going on in their country. Few people in Islamic countries had ever know that there is a Bosnia, and even among

its leaders it was difficult to believe that Yugoslavia, the champion of the Non-Aligned Movement and great friend of the Islamic world, could be an aggressor. Many leaders of Islamic countries remained passive and impartial, until their masses started to move and request Bosnian Muslims to be helped. Turkey initiated a special Contact Group of Islamic countries to be established in the UN headquarters, which was coordinating all activities of the OIC regarding the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

May be we should note that Bosnian Muslims finally and officially, just during the war, adapted the name Bosniacs for themselves, as they were named by Turks all past centuries. Term Bosnians should include also Serbs (Orthodox Christians) and Croats (Catholics), living together with Bosniacs in their multiethnic and multi-religious country Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, Bosnians are commonly, and especially in the Islamic world, still considered Muslims from Bosnia.

2. Turkish diplomacy was advocating territorial unity and sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in spite of efforts, lasting until today, to disintegrate it, or at least keeping a question mark over its internationally recognized unity. Those who considered that Bosnia and Herzegovina should stay under control of Serbia, as Russia was doing openly and some European countries behind the scene, were arguing that such multi-ethnic and multi-religious state was not possible. They were suggesting to Turks and some other Bosnian friends to accept such a reality. Behind the continuous support to the integrity of Bosnia, Turks had in mind, may be unconsciously, that their own struggle for independence was not based on nation, ethnicity or religion, but on the territorial integrity.

Turkey has also continued to support Bosnia politically after the war, particularly as the member state of the Steering Board, which still defines, follows and supervises the policy of the international community in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, due to the resistance by leading powers of that so-called international community, Turkey could not play more significant role in major political events, decisive for Bosnia and Herzegovina, as it was the London Conference 1992, or the Dayton Peace Agreements 1995.

3. Officially or unofficially, Turkey was present everywhere the cause of Bosnia has been discussed. For example, even to bring before The Hague International Court the issue of genocide, being committed in Bosnia, was almost impossible due to resistance of major European countries and Russia. Let me disclose something what was better to keep secret at that time: Turkish diplomacy helped Bosnians to find appropriate lawyers for defending the cause. Those lawyers were not in favour of some Islamic countries, but they did the job well.

Bosnian and Turkish political leadership exchanged frequent mutual meetings and established close personal friendship. President Ozal was exchanging messages with the major Western leaders, pleading to stop the war in Bosnia, and Hikmet Cetin was the first Foreign Minister who demanded for a foreign military

intervention against Serbs. Later, President Suleymen Demirel, in spite of his readiness to go there at his risk, was not allowed to visit Sarajevo during the war and had to take direction of Zenica while already on the trip. It was not strange if we have in mind that down, on the battlefield, general Mladic was issuing commands to his soldiers to fight not Bosnians, but Turks, and to destroy everything bearing the symbol of crescent. President Alija Izetbegovic has visited Turkey on almost all his trips to the East. Diplomatic missions of Turkey were offering help to Bosnian officials and diplomats all over the world.

4. On the military field, Turkey has also given different services to Bosnia. It could not be yet closer elaborated, because there was a compulsory obstacle for anybody wanting to help Bosnia militarily. The Arms Embargo to Yugoslavia was in force, which was, in fact, imposed only to Bosnia and Herzegovina. No effort for lifting that infamous UN act was successful, leaving Bosnians to defend their country by secretly obtained arms. In any case, in the chain of military support to Bosnia the Turkish link was precious. Turkish participation in various kinds of the international military presence in Bosnia, during and after the war, besides its main aim, has greatly strengthened ties between people. Turkish battalion became symbol of friendship by its no-military contribution to reconstruction of schools, hospitals, mosques in middle of Bosnia.

After the war, thousands of Bosnian soldiers have been trained in Turkey, in the framework of the US sponsored program "Train and Equip" of the BH Federation's Army. Dozens of commanders and high officers from Bosnia received diploma at Turkish military academies. Beside its practical advantage, that program had a special benefit. Just as it has happened with the Turkish soldiers in Bosnia, those young Bosnians had unique chance to get acquainted with the modern Turkey, to make friendship with their colleagues and to speak about their experience coming back to their homes. It was the first time after Ottoman times that so many Bosnians were returning from Turkey, and not staying there as refugees.

5. Turkish regional policy during crisis and conflicts in the area of former Yugoslavia included effective efforts to exert influence on Bosnia's neighbours: to stop the aggression on its territory during the war and to preserve its integrity and unity after the war. It was not easy to exert such an influence on Serbia due to well-known reasons. On the contrary, Serbia has made fruitless diplomatic efforts to diverge Turkey from its active pro-Bosnian policy, using especially South-East European cooperation framework.

Special relations established between Turkey and Croatia during that period were, as it was argued for by the Turkish diplomacy, mostly aimed to ease tension and confrontation between Croatia and Bosnia. There were frequent mutual high-level meetings and a special Ambassadorial Initiative was formed to follow three-partial cooperation. It did have some effect, but I could not pass over in silence that Turkish policy was sometimes too reconcilable toward the President of Croatia

Franjo Tudjman, who did not hide his intention and spare even military efforts to divide Bosnia and Herzegovina as well. He personally was misusing that well-intended Turkish policy for deceiving Bosnian public opinion as if he has secured Turkish support for his own policy.

When we come to the point of more concrete, more visible and, let me say less political field of Bosnian-Turkish relations in that war period, we can prove a lot of evidence of great affection and support Turkey had given to Bosnia, both on official and unofficial levels. At the same time, we can find a great diversity of approaches, reactions, sentiments, interests, understandings and misunderstandings. I shall try to indicate some of those manifestations as a contribution for further, less personally and sentimentally based studies.

1. When the news about the Serbian aggression against Bosnia became obvious and the pictures about their atrocities clearer: the massive killing of men and rape of women, destruction of cities and blowing up of mosques – a great majority of Turkish people and the general public opinion was shook so profoundly by this information. There were explosions of sentiments and open requests for Turkish direct involvement, such as the event of Serbs forcefully entering Gorazde with tanks. Similar reactions appeared in some other countries, as Pakistan, Iran, and Malaysia. But there the people were looking on Bosnians only as a Muslim community being victimized by Christians somewhere in Europe. Bosnians were also considered by Turks as Muslims, but at the same time much more than that: they have not only been living in the same state for centuries, but had also established various kinds of social, cultural and spiritual ties. Bosnia possessed a privileged position in the whole Ottoman Empire.

2. Thousands of Bosnian refugees have been received in Turkey with warm hospitality, especially by common people and Turks immigrated in the last few decades from Sanjak and organized in their cultural and social clubs, *derneks*. Around 25,000 Bosnians were hosted on a short or long-term basis in the Kırklareli camps, built earlier for refugees from Bulgaria. They have been under special care of the Turkish Government and agencies. A special hospital in Istanbul, *Bosna Hastanesi*, was operating for wounded Bosnian soldiers.

It is curious that many of Bosnian refugees soon after coming to Turkey and to such a friendly environment were seeking re-location to other countries: to Sweden, Australia, US. Even people from the UN agency for refugees, UNHCR, were taken by surprise, as this was not seen in their long experience. In fact, for the first time refugees were coming from a European developed country. They could not believe they were deprived of high standard living. They could not be satisfied even when they were given facilities much better than to refugees, for example, from Cambodia or Iraq. This can perhaps be an explanation for the much larger group - almost ten times more refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina – to have settled in Germany than in Turkey. At any rate, the Turkish Government provided its maximum to the Bosnian refugees, having its own social problems. Perhaps, the

rich elite of Turkey, could have been more active, but, as everywhere else in the world, this most privileged class is easiest to close its eyes in front of such problems.

3. Political leadership, parties and organizations in both countries established more or less close ties.

It could be said that the ruling, well established and organized governmental system on the Turkish side was faced by a one-party led and inexperienced government on the Bosnian side, representing a country divided and torn by aggression. As the independence and international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina was immediately followed by the aggression, the state institutions and political parties were not given any time and chance to establish, develop and exercise new democratic governing bodies.

Besides that, it was particularly significant that the Bosnian leadership was mainly belonging to the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), which was widely considered as Islamist and led by people belonging to the Young Muslims Organization. They have been suspicious toward the Atatürk's Turkey because of his approach toward the Ottoman religious establishment and changing Arabic script with the Latin letters. They were angered by his successors as well, especially when Radio Ankara, even during the Second World War, refused to announce their appeal for peace. During the war, party members were instructed to consider the secular system of Turkey as infidel one, *kafir*.

However, as far as I could be aware, the president of the SDA party and some of his close associates were showing deep respect to Turkey and gratitude for its support and help, putting aside ideological differences. Alija Izetbegovic considered president Demirel one of five world leaders Bosnia would not have survived without.

Turkish officials and party leaders have not openly shown they were confused or unsatisfied with the ideological approach of the Bosnian leadership. There was always a clear, general support to Bosnia, particularly expressed by leaders of the centrist-democratic parties. However, social-democratic parties and other circles have given mostly verbal support and organizing small charitable parties. Social-democracy in Europe, probably under the influence of President of France Mitterrand, was also largely indifferent toward the Bosnian cause. Nationalist populist parties were organizing huge gatherings in Turkey and Germany, including Slav Bosnia among Turkic peoples of Central Asia, the main subjects of their support and agitation. Anyhow, while it was at the mode – and unfortunately it has lasted for more than three years – Bosnia was a good card for elections or acquiring masses almost everywhere in the world.

Finally, on the other extreme side of the Turkish political spectrum was Refah party, which was deeply involved in Bosnian affairs during the war.

4. However it was regarded, as populist, Islamist or pan-Islamist, Refah party has been largely engaged for Bosnia, satisfying its own leaders and Bosnians as well. Before official institutions have found a way to cope with the Bosnian crisis, Refah quickly set in motion its party's machinery all over Turkey. Main duty of agitators at massive gatherings of its supporters was to collect money for Bosnia. Similar agitations for hard currency have been held in German cities, among party's supporters. Self-named commanders were brought from Bosnia to participate at such massive meetings and raise funds and donations. They have been given some amount to bring back to Bosnia, by the way buying food and arms. On other occasions, party's activists were going to free territories of Bosnia, giving from their pockets few thousands of German marks to local mayors and commanders – it was that time in Bosnia true wealth.

There were other parties – small and medium business groups, state religious institutions, and municipalities, TV houses - collecting money for Bosnia and sending it mostly by official Turkish or Bosnian authorities. Contrary to this official and proper way, some dubious people from Bosnia have been supplied with commando uniforms in Turkey, so as to look as if they arrived straight from the front lines in search for money. Especially unpleasant scenes were at Taksim Square or in Konya when women were presenting their modest jewellery, believing that it will really reach suffering Bosnian people. It might have had a negative influence on many educated Turkish circles and intellectuals.

It was widely believed that huge amounts of money donations, counted probably in dozens of millions of German marks, particularly among Turkish workers in Germany, were collected for Bosnia. How much it was, who was giving it and who receiving, where that money went – it will probably never be precisely known. Some evidence exists, but it is supposed that for the missing evidence of other donations, millions of German marks went for other purposes than Bosnia. It should be stressed that, from the Bosnian side, money from Turkey and other Islamic countries has been received, by very small and close-knit circle of people, in many cases without evidence as well. Justification by war circumstances is inexcusable.

There was a popular reply by some Bosnians – whatever we got, it was useful. But it is also not a valid justification.

What was obvious in regard to donations for Bosnia, that almost nothing has been given or done by so-called big private business. The famous two giant business families, Koc and Sabanci, who started to collect their wealth from the first years of the Turkish Republic, did not give almost any consideration to Bosnia.

5. Bosnia could not be avoided as a subject in the field of culture, religion, media, universities and Turkish academic circles as well.

Many books about Bosnia were published or translated, during the war and after it. Some of them were stressing more religious aspect, some human one. Ayse Kulin's *Sevdalinka*, probably one of the best novels about Bosnia in the world, had 12 editions in the first year of its publishing. It was frequent theme in theatre, even in modern ballet. However, while the popular Bosnian drama "Hasanagin Karisi" was performed at Ankara theatre, a pro-Serbian author from Montenegro was performing his play on the stage of Bursa's theatre. Many painters dedicated their works to Bosnia, a huge donating exhibition, under the auspices of president Demirel, was arranged at Ankara's biggest gallery, and the whole income was given to Bosnian painters who stayed in the besieged Sarajevo. There was the biggest ever audience, about 50,000 people, at the open-air Ankara concert of classical music, arranged by Bosnian and Italian embassies.

Religion was unavoidable in regard to Bosnian cause, being it in Turkey, or elsewhere. Many prayers in mosques had positive effect in agitating for the Bosnian cause. There was also manipulation with the Islamic faith of Bosnians. Some parties and organizations in Turkey were demanding from Bosnian women to wear scarf if they wanted their family to be supplied by accommodation and money. Those people did not accept that Bosnian women could be Muslims without scarves, as millions of them in Turkey. They though a specific Bosnian approach and practicing of Islam in Bosnia, after all inherited from Turkey, should be changed.

Turkish intellectuals were very rarely visiting Bosnia during the war. A big group of them did it in second year of the Sarajevo besiege. Perhaps they were not sufficiently aware how many Western leading artists, writers, singers and intellectuals were visiting Sarajevo and, under the fire and explosions of shells, and by the light of candles, were performing concerts, plays and literal gatherings. In such conditions Sarajevo was announced the cultural centre of Europe for one year. Let me mention only one, but a significant and unfortunately as of recently late American author, Suzan Sontag, who has visited Sarajevo 13 times during the war and worked throughout the war on the adaptation of Samuel Becket's drama "Waiting for Godot" to Sarajevo circumstances.

Media was, naturally, one of most powerful means for supporting Bosnia and informing about the atrocities and crimes against the Bosnian people. It had generally positive and agitating approach, particularly at some serious newspapers and TV houses, as TRT and TGRT. Some of high circulating newspapers, however, did not spare efforts to point to some weak sides of the Bosnian leadership when the country was under attack from all sides, both by Serbs and Croats. Some journalists were even predicting close death for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Allow me to repeat my personal reply to such a comment under the title "*Fatiha* for Bosnia", saying that euthanasia was prohibited in all countries, including Turkey. I have regretfully to remind on one more personal experience with some larger newspapers: while they were sending young inexperienced

reporters to receive Bosnian ambassador at the worker's coffee room, a reception by the whole editorial staff was arranged for the Serbian ambassador.

6. The issue of Bosnians in Turkey, or more properly saying Turks of Bosnian origin, is complex, sensitive and vague. It needs a wider approach and deeper study, in the framework of the Turkish legal and constitutional system and some adaptations to the European standards in that regard. It is sometimes in Bosnia wrongly supposed that they are the largest Bosnian diaspora, arguing that there are more Bosnians in Turkey than in their own country.

In fact, those Turks of Bosnian origin could not be considered diaspora, especially under the present circumstances in Turkey. Most of those who were educated have been assimilated to the new community, and they are tied with their old homeland only by sentimental feelings, memories and rare ties with already very distant relatives. Some exception could be applied to those Sanjak people who have emigrated to Turkey in sixties and seventies of last century, and who are also considered Bosnyaks, like all Muslims, except Arnauts, coming from Balkans. They are well organized in socio-cultural clubs, *derneks*. Another exception could be applied to the Izmir area, where I have felt strongest pro-Bosnian sentiments and warm welcome to Bosnian refugees during the war.

It was curious that refugees were better received by Turks belonging to poorer categories and originated from Asia, than by those of Bosnian origin, particularly if they were better positioned in society or business. Supposed explanation could be that they also came once to Turkey as poor refugees, and they have reached present position by many difficulties and hard work, so that helping new refugees could harm their life standard.

However, better organized in socio-cultural associations, Turks of Bosnian origin could play a significant role in the overall relations between their old and new homeland.

7. Lastly, I should not avoid a sensitive issue of the approach to the founder of the modern Turkey, Kemal Ataturk, by the Bosnian leadership, and particularly by Alija Izetbegovic, founder of the ruling SDA party. I was asked frequently, even these days by Turkish friends, why the late President Izetbegovic had never visited Ataturk's tomb. I had to reply that the question is wrong, because he did visit Anitkabir, even two times. First time it was 1991, before the war, when Bosnia and Herzegovina was still part of Yugoslavia. Second time it was 1997, during his first official visit to Turkey after the war. Due to his deteriorated health at that time, I was demanded by his doctors to be very careful bringing him to the peak of the Anitkabir monument by many steps. The steps should not be higher than 10 cm, and there should be brakes after certain number of steps, they said. I was measuring steps and time in advance. Once he was there, he followed the whole procedure without any problem, because it was a clear sunny afternoon, after the rain. He wrote in the memory book: "I admire great Turkish nation".

I am disclosing these details as a proof that Izetbegovic fulfilled the habit to pay the respect toward the founder of the Turkish Republic by all high officials and leaders visiting officially Ankara. His personal opinion on Ataturk is something else. His disagreement with Ataturk's approach to Islam, as he understood it, he expressed to me once in few words: "Ataturk was merely a great military commander".

Besides ideological differences, such an approach to Ataturk by the late President Izetbegovic and associates from his party can be explained by the Young Muslims group, very influential in SDA party. That group was under the influence of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers for a long time, the group well known for was spreading animosity toward Ataturk and the modern secular Turkey.

However, there are many Bosnians who admire Ataturk, and have no any reserve toward him. Some of them were emigrating to Turkey just to live in his environment. Most of those respecting Ataturk consider that there would not be modern Turkey, if there were not Ataturk. Turkey would be limited to Anadolia, said one friend recently, and today we Bosnians should in that case need a visa to go to Istanbul!

Today, ten years later, we can say that the war, however unfortunate, has enriched mutual experience and strengthened various ties between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Turkey.

At the end of 2005, tenth anniversary of the Dayton Peace Agreements will be celebrated. This document brought the peace to Bosnia and Herzegovina and guaranteed continuation of its sovereignty and integrity. Unfortunately, the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as an integral part of the Dayton Agreement, rewarded more aggressors than defenders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, leaving it divided to two so-called entities, with two armies and two police forces, within two political systems. Thus, Dayton itself could not guarantee lasting stability and unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In last decade it has been preserved mostly by presence of the foreign military presence.

Dayton-designed Bosnia could be changed by its integration to the European political and security institutions. In that regard, we are glad that all Turkish governments, including present one, were strongly supporting the unity and integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Looking from an angle of relations between Bosnia and Turkey, we could say that joining the European integrations is most promising perspective for both our countries. Europe is our common aim, common interest, and common space for further development of our democratic institutions. Not forgetting the past and using privileges of joint history, we are entering a completely new phase of relations.

GREEK OFFICIAL AND POPULAR ATTITUDE DURING THE WAR IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, c.1992-1995

Tuba Ünlü-Bilgiç*
Bestami Sadi Bilgiç**

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period between 1992 and 1995 and its details are quite known to the world public. Almost all the nations in the world condemned Bosnian Serb atrocities towards Bosnians. One noteworthy exception to this rule was Greece, a NATO and European Union member. In this presentation, the Greek official attitude as well as the Greek popular reaction with regard to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina will be discussed. The discussion will be built upon a rather provocative and well-documented book by a Greek journalist, Takis Michas, called *Unholy Alliance: Greece and Milosevic's Serbia* (Texas A&M University Press, 2002).

Many tend to believe that Greek politicians manipulate Greek public opinion towards certain ends they pursue. This is the case most of the time also in Turkey with regard to the Turkish-Greek relations. Many in Turkey believe that it is Greek politicians rather than Greek people who cherish anti-Turkish feelings. Michas challenges this conventional wisdom and argues that it was Greek popular reaction that forced Greek governing circles and other political party leaders to voice support for Bosnian Serbs, the aggressors, rather than Bosnians, the victims.

Michas first expatiates on how the majority of the Greek public was in solidarity with Bosnian Serbs during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He observes that in many Greek cities as well as Bosnian Serb towns the fall of Srebrenica in July 1995 was celebrated. This was not that surprising when one considers that there were Greek paramilitaries fighting alongside Bosnian Serbs during Srebrenica's siege, and Greek people back home knew that. (Michas, 2002: 17-18) Apart from that, in terms of Greek popular support to the Bosnian Serbs, Michas also gives an example on how a number of prominent Greek singers performed at the music concerts organized in Belgrade to support Bosnian Serb case in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while no Greek performer visited Sarajevo to express solidarity with the victims of the Bosnian Serb aggression. (Michas, 2002: 19)

One of the reasons why Greek people unlike almost the rest of the world sympathized with Bosnian Serbs is that Greek people believed that they and Serbs shared the same religious faith. (Michas, 2002: 18) To this belief, the Orthodox Church of Greece contributed immensely. In May 1993, Archbishop of Serapheim declared that the Orthodox Church was on the on the side of the Orthodox Serb

* Ph. D. Candidate, Georgetown University

** Instructor, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University

people. Later on, the Archbishop reiterated his views by saying that no matter what happens Greece should side with Serbia. This was what Greece's history, tradition and ties with Serbia dictated. Michas gives more examples of Greek Orthodox Church's unshakeable support for the Bosnian Serbian policies in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Michas, 2002: 21-24) However, the Greek Orthodox Church's support for their alleged Serb brethren runs contrary to what the historical evidence has revealed so far. First of all, the Serbian folk had lived under the religious patrimony of Greek Orthodox Church for ages until Serbia gained autonomy in the 19th century. As a matter of fact, an autocephalous Serbian Orthodox Church which was established in Kosova in the 16th century was shut down in the 18th century by the Ottomans only after the Greek Orthodox Church and Phanariots in Istanbul demanded so. Many Serbs still resent this fact because they believe that the tutelage of Greek Orthodox Patriarchate over the Serbs in the Ottoman Empire hindered their national development and maturation. Furthermore, any student of Balkan History would know that Orthodox churches in the peninsula are national churches, which have competed with each other especially since the 19th century. Moreover, the recent history of Greek-Serbian relations shows that well until 1945 Greek-Serbian differences, especially over the use of Salonica harbor and the famous or infamous Macedonian question since the late 19th century, persisted. Yet, despite all historical evidence the Greek Orthodox Church could openly voice support for the Serbs in the name of allegedly same religion, and adherents of the Greek Orthodox Church did follow their religious leaders in expressing solidarity with Serbs. This phenomenon is quite striking as it shows the power of the Greek Orthodox Church in shaping public opinion in Greece.

Another reason that motivated Greek people to support Bosnian Serb killings of Bosnians was that many in Greece believed that Bosnians were natural allies of Turkey, main perceived threat to the Greek security. Since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Ankara has signaled no intentions of Turkish expansion into the Balkans. On the contrary, Turkey has repeatedly worked for a Balkan union that would be a guarantor of peace and stability in the region. The prime example of pacific Turkish intentions is the Balkan Entente of 1934, which could be finalized due mostly to the unabated endeavors on the part of Turkish leaders, especially of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. As a matter of fact, Eleftherios Venizelos, the erstwhile champion of Greek irredentism in Asia Minor, nominated the Turkish leader for Nobel Peace Prize in 1934 for the latter's efforts towards a general peace in the Balkan region. Yet, although Turkey has constantly expressed its collaborative and non-aggressionist desires in Southeastern Europe, especially Greece has perceived them otherwise. In the eyes of Greek political circles, Turkey still cherishes grand ideas of going back to the Balkans. This could either be economically or politically. And the natural allies and bases for a repeated Turkish entry in the region could only be Bosnia and Kosova. Therefore, Greece should cooperate politically with Serbia in matters both related with Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosova.

Michas recounted in his book how Serbian propaganda exploited the Greek paranoia to its advantage in this matter. In their visits to Greece, Serb dignitaries would repeat that Greece was facing a Turkish-Muslim threat and Serbs were trying to prevent Turkey from encircling Greece by bringing together Bosnians and Albanians. Thus in essence Serbs were helping Greece with their policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Moreover, two of the very prominent Bosnian Serb leaders would go so far to declare on two different occasions that in case Greece and Turkey broke peace at least 50,000 Serbs would join Greek forces to fight Turkey. (Michas, 2002: 32-34)

The third factor which cemented Greek-Serb alliance was common dislike of Vatican, which was believed to have been conspiring against Orthodox in the Balkans. (Michas, 2002: 35) Vatican in cooperation with Germany and the rest of the West were seen as working towards establishing a new order in the Balkans which would be very detrimental to the Greek interests. This point is quite interesting when one considers the fact that Greece is member to almost all of the Western institutions. Yet, any student of Greek History and Politics would know that although Greece has institutional ties with the West, emotional and psychological ties are still lacking, and this makes it easy for the majority of Greek population to believe that there is a grand Western conspiracy in the Balkans to the detriment of their country.

In the light of what kind of direction Greek popular feeling had taken with regard to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995, Michas observes that not a single Greek politician voiced any protest against Bosnian Serb atrocities against Bosnians. On the contrary, Greek politicians constantly criticized occasional NATO air strikes and the machinations of the West. (Michas, 2002: 19) Furthermore, an open-air mass meeting held in Piraeus in the summer of 1993 revealed quite blatantly the extent of the support the Bosnian Serb leadership enjoyed from Greek political circles. The honorary guest of the event was Radovan Karadzic who was welcomed by almost all the political party leaders in Greece. In response to the warm welcome warranted to him, Karadzic declared: "Everybody is telling us to lay down our arms because we are alone. We say no, we are not alone. We have with us God and the Greeks." (Michas, 2002: 26)

Michas tells a story in the beginning of his book. The story is that in one of his articles in April 1993 in *Eleftherotypia*, a widely circulated Greek daily of center-left inclinations, he enclosed a bank account, to which he wrote readers could deposit money in support of a Bosnian daily, *Oslobodjenje*. After the article came out, his editor called him up and told Michas that the newspaper received a lot of phone calls from the readers who protested that a Greek daily was supporting collection of money for Bosnian Muslims. The editor added that higher people had asked him to tell Michas to stop writing his column until the whole thing was over. Michas deduced from this experience that every time a journalist in Greece wrote something critical of the Serbs that journalist was putting his career on the line. (Michas, 2002: 3) It seems that Greek governments are not so different from the

Greek journalists. Greek politicians seem to be unable to move in contradiction with the Greek popular feeling, which is too strong and rather petrified to manipulate. There are certain elements that have shaped Greek popular feeling since the establishment of the Greek kingdom in 1832. These are the feeling of genealogical continuity from antiquity up to date, the language, and religion. When a Greek politician, of right or left denomination, is to utter opinion on any policy matter, he or she has to consider whether it would run against any of these three components of Greek nationhood. The Greek public opinion can be changed within. Greek politicians cannot be expected to manipulate Greek popular feeling easily. One notable exception to this rule was Eleftherios Venizelos who could persuade Greek people in 1930, albeit in a quite hard way, that signing peaceful agreements with Turkey rather than perpetuating highly strained relations was to the benefit of the country. Otherwise, the Greek politicians are the ones most of the time who are being manipulated by the Greek popular feeling.

TURKISH ARMED FORCES AND PEACEKEEPING IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: AN OVERVIEW UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW

Ibrahim Kaya*

I. Introduction

Since its conception in the post Second World War era the United Nations has played a significant role in international arena, peacekeeping being one of its well-known functions. Although it is difficult to find an agreed definition as to what peacekeeping is and what it entails; Secretary-General Kofi Annan's definition, who was formerly the under Secretary-General for peacekeeping operations, may be borrowed. He defines it as "the use of multinational military personnel, armed or unarmed, under international command and with the consent of the parties, to help control and resolve conflict between hostile states and between hostile communities within a state."¹

This paper examines first the legal status of peacekeeping operations under international law then summarizes the peace operations carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina emphasizing their legal grounds and makes special observations on the Turkish contribution.

II. Legal Status of Peacekeeping under the United Nations Charter

In 1945 in San Francisco, the representatives of nations assembled in order to found the UN Organisation and announce its purposes outlined as follows:

"1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations....

3. To achieve international co-operation....

* Asst. Prof. Dr., Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University

¹ Annan, K. (1993) UN Peacekeeping Operations and Cooperation with NATO, NATO Review, October 1993.

4. To be a centre for harmonising the actions in the attainment of these common ends."²

It is accepted that the Security Council is the principal organ which has the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. To achieve this purpose measures are laid down by the Charter in Chapters VI and VII.

Chapter VI deals with pacific settlement of disputes where there is a danger to "the maintenance of international peace and security" because of the continuance of any dispute. The parties to the dispute are to settle their differences by peaceful means such as negotiation and the parties may be called upon by the Security Council to resort to such peaceful means. Such kinds of disputes can be brought to the attention of the Security Council or the General Assembly. However, the role of the Security Council lies in making recommendations and the parties to the dispute are expected to achieve the peaceful settlement of disputes voluntarily carrying out the recommendations of the Security Council.

Action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression is dealt with in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Article 39 states that:

"The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security."

The Security Council is the responsible organ for determining the existence of such a situation. As Akehurst states, "the threat to the peace is whatever the Security Council says."³ Another writer supports him by stating that the Security Council is the final judge."⁴

Enforcement action designed to deal with a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or an act of aggression can take two forms, namely non-military and military enforcement actions. Article 41 of the United Nations Charter provides for non-military enforcement action. Non-military action may include "complete or partial interruption of economic relations, and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations." Military enforcement action is dealt with in Article 42 of the Charter. Should the Security Council decide measures in Article 41 are inadequate to maintain international peace and security, it may take "such action by air, sea, and land forces as may be necessary" to this end. This system only works "if there is full agreement and co-operation among the permanent members."⁵

² Charter of UN Article 1.

³ Akehurst, M. (1994) *A Modern Introduction to International Law*, London

⁴ Dixon M. (1990), *Textbook on International Law*, London

⁵ White ND (1993) *Keeping the Peace*, Manchester University.

However, during the Cold War it was not possible to apply such military action, since it was not acceptable in the polarized world. As a result military operations of the United Nations developed on consensual and non-enforcement basis. Therefore peace keeping became, in the words of former United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, "chapter six and half."

Goulding summarizes the established principles of peacekeeping under five headings, they are:

1. Peacekeeping operations are the United Nations operations
2. Peacekeeping operations can be set up only with the consent of the parties to the conflict in question.
3. Peacekeepers are impartial between the parties to the conflict.
4. The United Nations requires members to supply troops in order to create a peacekeeping force since it has no military army of its own.
5. Peacekeepers should use force only to minimum extent, meaning their right to use of force is limited to self defence.⁶

Although it is said that peacekeeping operations are the UN operations, post-cold war period witnessed many non-direct UN operations in the former Soviet and Yugoslav republics. However, this does not mean that they lack Security Council authorization. They have been, and are being, carried out by UN members and regional organizations, such as NATO and CIS, under UN authorization.

III. Peace Operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina

A. UN Operations

1. UNPROFOR

On 15 February 1992, the Secretary-General recommended to the Security Council the establishment of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and a week later the Security Council approved the recommendation and established UNPROFOR for an initial period of 12 months.⁷ Although at the beginning UNPROFOR's mandate was to ensure that three "United Nations Protected Areas" in Croatia were demilitarized and that all persons residing in them were protected from fear of armed attack, in the course of time it was extended to include monitoring functions in certain other areas of Croatia ("pink zones"); to ensure the security and functioning of the airport at Sarajevo, and the delivery of humanitarian assistance to that city and its environs; to use force in self-defence in

⁶ Goulding, M. (1993), *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping*, International Affairs, 69, 3

⁷ Resolution 743 (1992).

reply to attacks against these areas, and to coordinate with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) the use of air power in support of its activities; to monitor the "no-fly" zone, banning all military flights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the United Nations "safe areas" established by the Security Council around five Bosnian towns and the city of Sarajevo. However, it is well known fact that UNPROFOR could not be able to carry out its mandate. This is for numerous reasons but the followings seem to prevail over others: lack of mandate, authorization, equipment, staff, and financial resources. On 31 March 1995, the Security Council decided to restructure UNPROFOR, replacing it with three separate but interlinked peacekeeping operations

The Security Council approved Turkey's application for participation in UNPROFOR on 22 March 1994, and 1,464 Turkish troops were deployed between 4 August 1993 and 31 December 1995.

2. UNBIH

On 21 November 1995, the General framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina was signed in Dayton, Ohio. This has 11 annexes and they altogether are named as the Peace Agreement which was signed on 14 December 1995 by three Balkan states, namely Republic of Croatia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In accordance with the Peace Agreement, on 21 December 1995 the United Nations Security Council established the UN International Police Task Force (IPTF) and a civilian UN office in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁸ IPTF main tasks included, *inter alia*, the following under the Peace Agreement: monitoring, observing and inspecting law enforcement activities and facilities; advising and training law enforcement personnel; assisting by accompanying the parties' law enforcement personnel as they carry out their responsibilities. Throughout its existence UNBIH's mandate was enlarged to investigate the human rights abuses by police,⁹ to deal with key public security issues such as drugs, terrorism, corruption,¹⁰ to assess the court system in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹¹

UNBIH was terminated on 31 December 2002 by the Security Council following the fulfillment of its tasks.¹² Only a few Turkish military personnel participated in the activities of UNBIH.

⁸ Resolution 1035 (1995).

⁹ Resolution 1088 (1996).

¹⁰ Resolution 1144 (1997).

¹¹ Resolution 1184 (1998).

¹² Resolution 1423 (2002).

B. NATO Operations

1. Implementation Force (IFOR)

In accordance with Peace Agreement NATO was given the mandate to implement the Agreement. IFOR, a NATO-led multinational force, started its mission on 20 December 1995.¹³ Its mandate was for one year with a mission to implement Annex 1A (Military Aspects) of the Peace Agreement by causing and maintaining the cessation of hostilities; separating the armed forces of the Bosniac - Bosnian Croat Entity (the Federation) and the Bosnian - Serb Entity (the Republika Srpska) by mid-January 1996; transferring areas between the two Entities, moving the Parties' forces and heavy weapons into approved sites. IFOR opened 2,500 km of roads, repaired or replaced over 60 bridges, and freed up Sarajevo airport and key railway lines. IFOR was the Alliance's first large-scale operational peacekeeping mission.

2. Stabilization Force (SFOR)

After the peaceful conduct of the September 1996 elections, IFOR successfully completed its mission of implementing the military annexes of the Peace Agreement. In December 1996, IFOR was succeeded by SFOR.¹⁴ The difference between the tasks of IFOR and SFOR is reflected in their names. The role of IFOR (Operation Joint Endeavour) was to implement the peace, whereas the role of SFOR (Operation Joint Guard/Operation Joint Forge) was to stabilize the peace. SFOR was to ensure that:

- All parties adhere to the military requirements of the Peace Agreement;
- All parties demonstrate commitment to continue negotiations as a means to resolve political and military differences;
- Established civil structures are sufficiently mature to assume responsibilities to continue monitoring compliance with the Agreement; and
- Conditions have been established for the safe continuation of ongoing nation-building activities.

IFOR and SFOR were NATO-led forces consisting of troops from both NATO member and non-NATO member states, including Russia. In the light of the

¹³ Resolution 1031 (1995).

¹⁴ Resolution 1088 (1996).

improved security situation in both Bosnia and Herzegovina and the wider region, the Alliance brought SFOR to a conclusion in December 2004.¹⁵

C. EU Operation (EUFOR)

On 2 December 2004 the European Union deployed a new force to Bosnia and Herzegovina in an Operation known as *Operation Althea*, taking on the main peace-stabilization role previously undertaken by NATO under the Peace Agreement. In accordance with agreements worked out between the two organizations, NATO provides planning, logistic and command support for the EU-led operation. The EU deploys the military force with a Chapter VII of the UN Charter mission to ensure continued compliance with the Peace Agreement and to contribute to a safe and secure environment in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The total number of troops in EUFOR is approximately 7,000. A total of 33 nations including 22 EU Member States and 11 non-EU Troop Contributing Nations provide the necessary capabilities to carry out EUFOR's tasks. Participating members are as follows:¹⁶

EU Members	Non-EU Members
Austria, Belgium, Czech Rep, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, UK	Albania, Argentina, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Morocco, New Zealand, Norway, Romania, Switzerland, Turkey

Operation Althea is the largest military operation that the EU has embarked. EUFOR is a manifestation of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). From the ESDP has evolved the Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP) which has a prime objective of preserving peace and strengthening international security in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

¹⁵ NATO in the Balkans, NATO Briefings, February 2005. <http://www.nato.int/docu/briefing/balkans-e.pdf>

¹⁶ www.euforbih.org

The organization of the EUFOR is as follows:



IV. Conclusion

The conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the most significant of those occurred after the cold war era. The world community was late to respond the conflict adequately. After all the tragic events, finally the world addressed the problem as required by the Charter of the United Nations. From the examples learned in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the world community dealt with the following conflicts, such as the Kosovo problem, promptly.

The world witnessed the close cooperation of NATO and non-NATO members, enemies of the past, in peacekeeping operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and today the EU and non-EU states work in harmony in the field. This was unimaginable in the cold war era.

From the commencement of peace operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina Turkey was keen to participate. The deployment of Turkish troops in the area has made significant contribution to the fulfillment of the tasks of peacekeeping operations.

THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE WAR IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AND LESSON FOR FUTURE PREVENTION OF ARMED CONFLICTS

Hasan Muratović*

Since I am coming from Bosnia and Herzegovina, which suffered an entire tragedy of aggression and war (1992-1995), and which is now recovering from its dire consequences, I designed my brief observations to use the case of this tragic part of our history as a basis for presenting some causes of wars, the role of international factors in preventing and stopping the war in Bosnia and in general, and finally to see what general lessons we can learn.

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina had been brought about as part of the collapse of the former Yugoslav Federation, which was composed of six federal units.

The war started as a result of the aspirations of Serbia to create a monoethnic country made up of all territories inhabited by Serbs by killing and expelling all non-Serb populations.

In implementing this plan, Serbia, and later Croatia, engaged Bosnian Serbs and Croats in the fight against the legitimate government of their country to join their respective so-called kin-states. They exchanged parts of temporarily occupied territory by moving people from one area to another, according to their geopolitical plans.

Even though the whole range of consequences of that war are known to everyone, I will mention only few of them:

Of a total of 4.4 million inhabitants around 2 million have been expelled or internally displaced. More than 600 thousand of them are permanently displaced world-wide. Around 300.000 people were either killed or reported missing. 70% of the housing was destroyed. The country's economy was utterly devastated, so that pre-war GDP will be reached again only some time in 2010. Greater Serbia never came into being.

What was the role of the international community in this war?

To put it briefly, the role of the international community was degrading, counterproductive and tragic.

* Prof. Dr., Rector of the University of Sarajevo

Prior to the conflict, the EU dispatched observers to BiH that did nothing but register the developments at the time and reported back in a way that served more the policy needs of the countries that seconded them than those of the EU. The UN put in place their peace-keeping mission, later reinforced by troops coming from a number of countries. Troops were deployed to areas of BiH in a manner that primarily reflected the policy and particular interests of major contributing countries.

Throughout the war, the UN forces were treated as "peace-keeping", even though there was no peace to keep but only a very brutal war going on.

The UN Security Council passed more than 70 resolutions, not one of them ever being enforced.

UN formed so-called "safe areas" that they were unable to defend, which resulted in tragedy and huge number of victims. This also had a tragic impact on the overall development of the war.

The UN acted in a counterproductive manner and their role, at the end, proved shameful. The UN too had their share of responsibility for thousands of victims. Parliaments of some countries even launched probes into the role and responsibility of their troops.

After three and a half years of war and following the Srebrenica tragedy, the United States decided to act. UN troops left BiH, and NATO took over. In only a month US-led NATO forces put an end to the war.

What conclusion can be drawn from the actions of the international community during the war in BiH?

First, there existed no political consensus either within the EU or between the EU and the United States on the line of action to prevent the war and, later, to stop it. That is why it took so long to put an end to it. The world was divided on the issue of the war in Bosnia, as it was recently on the war in Iraq.

If there had existed a consensus, the war could have been stopped at the very outset in the same way that it was stopped three and a half years later.

The UN Security Council made political decisions that lacked proper implementing mechanisms.

Under cover of the UN, every member country, with its troops on the ground, acted to promote its own policy, harnessing the UN to serve the needs of its own policy.

The international community failed to act properly through the UN. What the UN did in BiH and what it failed to do brought disgrace on the Organization, on the peace political movement acting through the UN, as well as on the world in general.

The conduct of the UN was unprincipled, irresponsible, unfortunate, tragic and shameful. The UN brought hope before the beginning of the conflict and contributed to the tragedy in the bitter end.

NATO had appropriate assets and, as soon as the political decision was made, it stopped the war, practically without casualties, in a swift and effective manner. In the post-war period, the Alliance continued to provide secure environment. Had the NATO mission been undertaken at the beginning of the war, the tragedy would have been forestalled. The NATO mission was completely opposite to what the UN had been doing for over three and half years.

On the credit side, we have to emphasize that the decision by the UN to establish an International Criminal Tribunal in the Hague to prosecute war crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia had an extraordinary significance.

Can we using the Bosnia case and similar ones learn some lessons about most frequent and common causes of the wars today, and what role can we expect the international community to play in the future?

Since the World War Two up until now there have been some 145 armed conflicts over borders. Other conflicts stemmed from the claims by minorities, supported by their kin-states, to cultural and other types of autonomy, and from aspirations to seize control of other countries' natural resources.

In principle, the international community can act in two ways to prevent wars:

- a) by exerting a strong political and legal influence; and
- b) by using force.

Mere political influence has proved insufficient.

Political fight against conflicts requires, above all, a sense of justice.

However, there is no justice in the political arena. In the past, only balance of power proved to be effective. Accordingly, a bipolar world seems to have guaranteed much more security and peace to reach good political decisions.

As the struggle for democracy in a single-party political system with no opposition is risky and ineffective, so is the fight for peace uncertain in a unipolar world.

Without the UN it would be hard to imagine further development and functioning of the world peace movement and order. But impediments, setbacks, time itself and wrong actions in the overall development of the UN have done for the kind of the UN and its Security Council as we know.

Present UN structure lacks mechanisms for prevention and stopping of the wars.

For the UN and the international community to function efficiently it is necessary to have a combination of political decisions and appropriate resources. There must be a balance of politics and the coercion or enforcement. Only integration of politics and force can produce desired results in preventing and stopping wars.

Waltz Kenneth, in *Globalization and American Power*, maintains that wars can only be stopped through the establishment of a World Government that would be entitled to use force against States that are not upholding and implementing international laws.

But who can create policy that will be accompanied by the use of force?

Practice has shown that the Security Council as we know it today is unable to do it.

A different composition of the Security Council is required. A new quality, especially as regards Europe, would be the representation of the EU within the Security Council instead of that of its individual member countries.

Strengthened cooperation between the EU and the Council of Europe, politically stronger and more unified Europe, would ensure that Europe's actions within the Security Council will become uniquely and fully effective for that part of the world.

A similar key could be found for other parts of the world that are currently not adequately represented within the Security Council.

Let me remind you that the role played by individuals in setting off a conflict is enormous throughout the history, ever since Roman emperors, going through Hitler and Milošević.

Unfortunately, recent wars have shown that aggressive individuals succeeded in mobilizing the support of the media and ipso facto the support of the majority more easily than peace movements.

The world needs permanent protection against unbalanced persons in power. A threat of sanctions against them is certainly an effective measure. The creation of the International Criminal Tribunal in the Hague for war crimes perpetrated in the former Yugoslavia and the establishment of the International Criminal Court are of the utmost importance not only in terms of passing appropriate sentences and serving justice, but also in terms of preventive and deterrent actions.

Support of countries for these two international institutions constitutes a signal of a truly anti-war commitment.

A court established by victors cannot administer justice – that can only be achieved by an impartial court.

Establishing associations, foundations, peace prizes and other assistance forms can produce very positive and stimulating results facilitating the substantial mobilization of further adherents to the cause of peace.

As regards the conflict prevention and its swift stopping it is also necessary for leading international actors to agree on a common policy and strategy. The lack of this agreement proved to be the major problem in all recent wars. It caused inappropriate responses to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and all tragedy which happened.

The willingness of only few states makes it possible to stop nearly any war. Such states and their leaders are responsible whenever a war breaks out somewhere and for as long as it is not stopped.

As for Bosnia and Herzegovina, joining the EU will mean durable peace and security. For many small countries the issue of peace is an issue of integration into larger structures. It seems hard to imagine the outbreak of a war within the EU. Therefore the road to peace certainly goes through and leads to large-scale alliances and structures.

Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe has been launched with a premise that through economic development and the development of democracy and promotion of human rights conditions for sustainable peace can be created in that part of the world and, therefore, in Europe as well. This is designed first to strengthen regional cooperation and subsequently to lead to the accession to the EU. Unfortunately this Pact failed to serve the purpose for which it was formed.

Regional integrations are most likely the road that leads to a more peaceful world.

International relations for a long time were based on geopolitics and geostrategy. In perceiving and shaping the international relations a geographical determinism prevailed and was dominant. In today's world, however, the international position of countries does not depend to the same extent as in the past on territorial factors. Geopolitics is increasingly losing ground to geo-economy. In this new cartography it is the economy that dominates.

Geo-economy cannot be seen as integrating the world on the basis of economic interests alone. We should bear in mind that industrialized countries are the ones that dictate economic relations. Can geo-economy, therefore, be seen as a modernized geopolitics used to serve the purposes of globalization?

Mr. Edward Luttwak, in the *Kof's Rule, the National Interest*, holds that geo-economy is a discipline designed to strengthen American leadership in the world through geo-economic means.

Can armed conflicts be replaced with economic ones? Mechanisms of economic punishment in the longer run lead to the destruction of overall

performance of a country, including the military one, and ultimately, to the collapse of governing political structure. However, geoeconomic front is usually much broader than the military one.

If in every part of the world large-scale grass-roots peace movements could be established, if they could mobilize the support of influential figures, if the media should resist aggressive governing political structures, there would be much less conditions in future for starting a war.

Each war results in deaths, human suffering and personal tragedy, destructions, devastation, population displacement, poverty, destroyed economy, and land mines and radiation left behind. Each war is the barbarity and primitivism. Agression on Bosnia was an example for all of this.

Unfortunately, war is always possible. If we fail to do something to eradicate it completely and everywhere, it will sooner or later come to strike us too.

When we fight against war anywhere in the world, we are actually fighting against a war in our own country.

A STUDY FOR TURKEY'S BOSNIA&HERZEGOVINA POLICY IN THE POST COLD WAR PERIOD

Sibel Turan*
Sevil Ertuğrul**

ABSTRACT

As it is known Balkans are one of the most important case for Turkey's foreign policy. When we consider about the events which took place in 1990s in the Balkans we can easily realize that one of the most important event that Turkey had to consider was Bosnia War. There are several reasons for Turkey's active policy for the war. Primary reason and also the most important reason was religious. Turkey had to protect the Muslims in Bosnia. It is also relevant with Turkey's identity of being European because Turkey accept Bosnians as a part of Europe. Due to the fact that Turkey imagined a stronger tie with Europe.

Second reason was closely related with the strategic position of Turkey. It is generally agreed upon that Turkey's strategic importance was relatively decreased after the Cold War. Turkey tried to gain an important role by the Gulf War in 1991 and also tried to increase its regional power in international arena to become an important actor for the Balkans. Moreover, instability for the Balkans also means great trouble for Turkey both economically and politically, that is why Turkey could never support the recognition of Serbs in international arena. This would be a negative example when we consider about the Kurdish problem for Turkey. In this article we will try to inform Turkey's Bosnia-Herzegovina policy in detail especially after the cold war. Bosnia war and afterwards, Dayton Agreement, trial of Milosević and the present position of Bosnia –Herzegovina will be held.

The Balkans prominently on Turkey's foreign policy agenda. Turkey regards the Balkans as its gateway to Europe and has always been a key player in Balkan affairs . Therefore, Turkey was profoundly concerned over the human tragedy in Bosnia and Herzegovina that continued for years. This tragedy has, no doubt, left an unforgettable mark in the collective conscience of all civilized nations. Turkey attached lots of importance to the preservation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, independent, and sovereign state within its internationally recognized borders. Turkey was actively involved, from the outset, in efforts, at both bilateral and international levels, to find a just and lasting solution to the Bosnian crisis.

* Assoc. Prof. Dr., Trakya University

** Res. Assistant, Trakya University

Economic and political depression in Yugoslavia Federation during 1980s, had reached to the top level in 1990 and this year has been placed in the history as the beginning date for the process of breaking up the Yugoslavia which is called “Yugoslavian Depression”. Problem which turned into a Yugoslavia Problem with the intervention of international community after the declaration of independence by Slovenia and Croatia in 1991, ended itself by breaking up the Yugoslavia Federation in 1992. Then the old Yugoslavia Problem had been turned into a Bosnia-Herzegovina problem more likely and has been preserved its importance even today.

Breaking up the Yugoslavia Federation in 1991 and formally removing up in 1992, was a highly important circumstance for Turkey that would not be stay unconcerned. Yugoslavia Problem and especially the Bosnia War, has been one of the most important case for Turkey’s foreign policy in the post cold war period. Moreover, Yugoslavia Problem was not only an important case for Turkish foreign policy in the new period but also contributed a lot for defining the keys of new Turkish foreign policy. On the other hand, breaking up the Yugoslavia has determined Turkey’s foreign policy towards the new Balkans because Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia were two of the most important corner stones for Turkey’s Balkan Policy . This study will be held Turkey’s foreign policy during the process of breaking up the Yugoslavia and afterwards, especially Turkey’s active Bosnia-Herzegovina policy.

Factors Effecting Turkish Balkan Policy

Despite Turkey has 5% of its land in Thrace region, it can be accepted as a Balkan country. Despite of the smallness of this land, from the establishing date of Turkey turned its face to the Balkans and preferred to expressed itself as a Balkan country rather than a Mediterranean or a Middle East country. That is why Balkans carry great importance for Turkey both for foreign policy directions and strategic, humanitarian and cultural dimensions. Factors effecting Turkey’s Balkan policy as follows;

- Historical ties,
- Balkan oriented population who lives in Turkey,
- Geographical and strategic reasons,
- Turkish/Muslim minorities in the Balkans (Uzgel,2002:167).

Historical Ties: Balkans was a major spreading area for Ottoman. Nearly 500 years of Ottoman dominance had deeply impressed the region’s religious, ethnic, economic and cultural structure which is reached today. Turkey’s Balkan

policy had been built up on this background and its active Balkan policy during the 1990s sometimes criticized as a desire to turn to Ottoman period. People who has Orthodox and Slav backgrounds intended to define Ottoman dominance as a coercive period politically, economically and culturally. Also expressed that Ottoman dominance prevented them to benefit from the Renaissance and Enlightenment movements . Moreover Ottomans brought the Islam to the region and this was another negative effect according to them. Partly or completely Muslim ethnic groups such as Albanians, Bosnians, Pomaks and Torbeshs are accepted as the negative heritage of Ottoman. Rising the nationalistic feelings among the Balkan people in 19th century caused a politic and social chaos and lead to lost of the wars and this will caused a migration wave of Turks, Muslims in Balkans to Turkey. This was a negative aspect of Balkans for Turkey. Nevertheless, Balkans was both a regional basis for Turkish nationalism and developing the tradition of political organization. Nationalistic ideas which grew in the last quarter of the 19th century, had deeply affected to Turkey.

From the beginning of the Republic of Turkey Balkans was a region which has negative aspects until the end of the 1980s. Between the two world wars, region was a spreading area for Italy, as a result of this Turkey's security issues was intensified on this region . Turkish foreign policy spend too much efforts and gave too much importance for the Balkans, because region was a coming way for communist threat and minority problems which any time can be turned into a depression (Uzgel,2002:170) .

Balkan oriented population who lives in Turkey:Nearly 5 to 7 million migrants living in Turkey from the Balkans and their ties are still vivid with their countries. Especially if there is a depression or a struggle, Turkey has to consider in mind about the Balkan oriented people in Turkey.

Geographical and strategic reasons: Balkans is a gateway to the West for Turkey. Turkey has intensive relations with Western Europe both economically and politically. Stabilization for the Balkans is important to Turkey in order to prevent any interruption for the gateway. Ex: 1990s in Bosnia, in 1999 in Kosovo. Turkey's more than half of the foreign trade have being made with western European countries. Turkey also worry about any alliance between Greece and Bulgaria. These three countries always have to balance the relations (Uzgel,2002:170).

Turkish/Muslim minorities in the Balkans: Turkey always has the mission to undertake an active role towards the Turk/Muslim minorities both for the Balkan

lobby inside of it and as a big country in the region. Especially about the bilateral and international agreements or the violation of the agreements on the issue of Turk/Muslim minorities in Bulgaria and Greece. Balkans is an offender about the applications towards the minorities except the Tito's Yugoslavia (Uzgel,2002:171).

Turkey favors Turkish minorities which living in the democratic and secular Balkan states to join the political, economic and cultural life of these multinational states in order to be their loyal citizens. *Turkish minorities while living in peace and security there, should serve as a friendship bridge between their countries and Turkey. Their free participation in the administration of their countries should be guaranteed and attempts for forced assimilation like it happened in one of the Balkan countries during the 1980s must never occurred* (Öztek,2003:13) .

Turkey is aware of its regional role in the pursuit of peace, prosperity and stability. In the wake of the Cold War, Turkey found itself at the very centre of a most turbulent region where ultra-nationalist, hegemonistic, aggressive and irredentist tendencies caused a number of regional conflicts. The policy in this regard has been to help reduce tensions and resolve disputes, to encourage the propagation of democracy and the rule of law, with view to creating a peaceful and stable environment as much as the limits of the power and ability to influence the events. For this purpose, Turkey has been actively involved in international peace related operations and peace keeping efforts in Iraq and Kuwait, Somalia, Georgia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Hebron, Albania and Kosovo (www.tesid.org.tr/turkey/inter.htm).

Turkey's Current Balkan Policy

While we evaluate Turkey's Current Balkan policy we can not explain the transformations which is experienced in 1990s just from the Balkan perspective because this will be incomplete. We should put emphasize on the effects of transformation process on Turkey from the Balkan point of view. Transformation process has two dimensions for Turkey; one is negative and the other one positive. Because of the new or independent states has turned their face to Turkey, Balkans has gained a more open geographical feature for Turkey's influence comparing it with the bipolar world system . Turkey as a member of NATO and an ally for U.S. seemed attractive by these newly independent states. That is why after 1990, relations between Turkey and Balkan states, intensified on the issues of defense and security. There are some important factors which defines Turkey's current Balkan policy;

- Policies of U.S. related to the Balkans,
- Characteristics of the relations between Turkey and U.S.,
- Policy of Greece toward Turkey,
- Turkey's terror problem,
- Slav-Orthodox axis which is trying to be formed in the Balkans,
- Turkey's needs for current defense and security,
- Common ties between the people who lives in the Balkans and Turkish people (Öztürk,2001:21-22).

Balkans are not only important to Turkey just because of the geographical, political, defense and security but also important according to our cultural and historical heritage. Part of Turkish history has written in this region. Balkans is a bridge and a passing road. In order to maintain prosperity and stability of the region, it is necessary to hold this road open. This has a great importance for Turkey. After 1990s, Turkey preferred to follow an active and dynamic foreign policy in the Balkans. Even it is expressed that, this period reminds the Turkish Foreign policy in the period of Atatürk. Just after the 1990s, Turkey has followed a realist, balanced and a policy based on the national power while considering in mind the factor of international community (Öztürk,2001:29-30).

After the Cold war Turkey has always been reactive about all regional developments by its power that comes from its geo-political situations and its diplomatic experiences and also it is same for the Balkans but Turkey could react the developments as much as the conjuncture permits and in the limits of his power. Turkey could carried on an active foreign policy in the issue of Bosnia-Herzegovina (as much as the conjuncture permits and limited to its relative power). Turkey has considered in mind about the position of Bosnia – Herzegovina in the Balkans in the context of new Balkans and its importance for Turkey has taken its place in Turkish Foreign Policy agenda after the Cold War and breaking up the Yugoslavia Federation .

Upon the collapse of communism, Turkey has shoved great importance to create an atmosphere of confidence and cooperation among the countries of the region. In this context, Turkey has tried to establish diplomatic relations with all of the newly independent ex –Yugoslavian republics, also joined the Stability Pact and the SECI. Turkey took part in all the peace forces and allocated 500 military personnel at the SFOR and 12 policemen at the European Union police mission in Bosnai-Herzegovina;750 military personnel at KFOR in Kosovo, 2 liaison teams at the EU led Force in Macedonia. Moreover there are Turkish personnel working at the NATO's headquarters in Skopje and Tirana (Öztek,2003:12).

A Short History For The Bosnia-Herzegovina

International consultants while protecting the integrity of Croatia and Serbia on one hand, they have the intentions to break up the Bosnia-Herzegovina on the other. But Bosnia-Herzegovina is not more artificial than the other republics which came out from the former Yugoslavia. Same as Serbia and Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina –Bosnian state- has a medieval background. Both of during the long occupational process of Ottoman Empire (XV-XIX centuries) and shorter occupation of Austria-Hungary (1878-1918), it was autonomous . When it was under a Serbian Dynasty which it is also valid for the first Yugoslavia, it is removed by an administrative divisions but became one of the founders of the second Yugoslavia. It has all valid reasons in order to be exist by itself. Also at the same time, according to the logic of Tito it is seen as a tool to balance between Serbian and Croatian nationalistic intentions (Samary,1995:78).

After the World War I, National Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina decided to join newly established Kingdom of Serbian-Croatian-Slovenians and Bosnia-Herzegovina has not any autonomy and any role in any stage of the government . Serbs had achieved their goal uniting the lands. Just before the beginning of World War II. Bosnia-Herzegovina was under the threat of loosing its political and historical identity . In the year 1929 Kingdom of Yugoslavia had declared the dictatorship and than divide Yugoslavia 9 divisions; six was belong to the Serbia and three to Croatia. Serbia and Croatia agreed upon the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1939 in order to establish a federation before the World War II. World War II brought the massacres to the Muslims again. Bosnians lost 150.000 people in the World War II. After the war Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadag and Macedonia were the least developed republics. Until the 1980s political conscious were seemed to increased. After the death of Tito in 4th of May 1980 a campaign was started against to the Islam (Taşar,Metin,Ünaltay,1996:208-216).

The largest Muslim political party and its leader Aliya İzzetbegović (until his death in 2003) in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the post-communism period and from the 1990s, was treated as radical Islamists and also criticized to intend to form an Islamic State. These people who criticized them are point out that Muslims insists about to see Bosnia as a unitary state. According to them, since Bosnians constitutes 44 % of the population, they want to put their weight on the state and also with the increase in the population they can get the absolute majority . Here basic problem is to found an ideological and sociological basis for Muslim nation which has recognized as the sixth equal nation in the Tito's theory and law in Yugoslavia in 1968. This Muslim nation can it only be "Tito's invention" as it is said by the people who criticized the legitimacy of the Muslim nation.. According to them Tito was declared the existence of an artificial nation (Rusinow,2000:133-136) .

Bosnia-Herzegovina was a state that was under the threat of death by the logic of establishing ethnically pure states in Serbia and Croatia with the break up

Yugoslavia. As Xavier Bougarel said that; “if there is a specificity and continuity of Bosnia-Herzegovina , that is why because of not to belong to any nation, but always to be a place of synthesis for people, crossroads for civilizations and periphery of the empires”. A state without a sovereign nation , is a state without a history, without a soul, not live able and without cement ? (Samary,1995:79).

Breaking Up the Yugoslavia Federation

With the death of Tito in 1980, Yugoslavia Federal Republic entered the most depressive period. 1980s was a period of experiencing the economic problems and also the growing nationalistic intentions for the multi national and socialist Yugoslavia. Serbian nationalism which has been controlled under the identity of Yugoslavia in Tito's time, has transformed into a chauvinism in Serbia and Serbia has gained a pressurize character in its relations with the other federal republics. Regime depression has reached to the peak in socialist Yugoslavia, while communist regimes collapse one by one in Eastern block. After the ten depressive years between 1980-1990, process of breaking up has started for the Yugoslavia in 1990 and also Yugoslavia Depression, which will be continue during two years. Extreme nationalist Slobodan Milosević in Serbia preserved its power after the first free elections, increased the doubts of other federal republics. Serbia which is the biggest republic of the federation and Karadag which act together with the Serbia, were insisting on the protection of integrity and increasing the power of federal center by the guidance of Serbia (Kut,2001:323).

Misha Glenny was said that in February of 1991, “Yugoslavian leaders were stirring the caldron of blood which will boil up as soon as possible”(Glenny,1999:504).

However the factor of chauvinistic Serbian nationalism caused to the breaking up the Yugoslavia and than transformed the problem as a Yugoslavian Problem with an international character, may be the most important reason for this was the declarations of independence by Slovenia and Croatia. They declared their independence in 1991 on 25 June, and this date accepted as the beginning of the internationalization of Yugoslavia Problem. Because until the date of 25 June 1991, depression in Yugoslavia were accepted as an internal problem of Yugoslavia. Serbian intervention in 27 June to the Slovenia and Croatia by the Yugoslavian Federal Army which was under the control of Serbs, activated international organizations to intervene this event. Attacks of Serbian militias had turned into a massacre and the attacks between the Serbs, Bosnians and Croatians turned into an endless civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina which it was one of the two republics that does not want to break up the Yugoslavia (Kut,2001:324-325) .

With the formal disappearing of Yugoslavia in 1992,Yugoslavia Problem has ended but turned into the problem of how will peace be preserved in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Turkey's Attitudes in the Period of Breaking Up the Yugoslavia

Turkey has kept relations with Yugoslavia after the Tito's time. Despite some discontents experienced in depressive years between 1980-90, Turkey as usual constant to continue follow a policy to accept ethnic and religious ties prior for Yugoslavia and defend its integrity. Despite of this, Turkey also watching the birth of two friendly countries in the Balkans which seek the support of Turkey. But nevertheless, Turkey was trying to avoid to be seemed as a country who support the breaking up the Yugoslavia. Coalition government leaded by Demirel, in the first international press meeting in 11 December 1991 stated that, "government anxious about the internal events and struggles in Yugoslavia and will try to solve the problems by preventing the use of power and also try to form a basis of dialog in the framework of the principles of the OSCE ¹. Turkey was waiting for international community's step to transform its support to international recognition for Bosnia-Herzegovina. With the pressure of Germany EEC recognized Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia in 15 January. In 17 January, Turkey announced that, will recognize all Yugoslavian republics which declared independence. Five days later President of Serbia Milosević and Foreign Minister came to Ankara and wanted from Turkey to draw back its support and not to recognize these republics especially Bosnia-Herzegovina. Turkey recognized all these four republics in 6 February 1992 at the same time and signed some protocols during the London Meeting with these republics in 26 August 1992 in order to establish diplomatic relations. Than Turkey decided to open embassies in these republics (Kut,2001:325-328).

In the first half of the dismemberment of Tito's Yugoslavia namely during the war between the Slovenes and then the Croats, on the one hand, and the Serbs, on the other, Turkey was basically an onlooker. But when the war spread to Bosnia, and the Serbian campaign of genocide against the Bosnian population began to fill the television screens, Turkey protested and acted to rally the Western world around its policy suggestion that Serb targets in Bosnia be bombed by NATO. However, with the Western world showing little interest in stopping the genocide in Bosnia, Turkey started to withdraw from its initial stance, adopting a more reserved line of policy. From 1993 to the end of the Bosnian war in the late

¹ Principles of OSCE,

- Sovereign equality and respect for the rights which is naturally hidden in sovereignty,
- Not to commit to use of power or threat to use of power,
- Immunity of borders,
- Integrity of states,
- Peaceful settlements for conflicts,
- Not to interfere to the internal affairs,
- Respect for the human and basic rights including right to think, religion and conscience,
- Equality for people and self determination right,
- Cooperation between states,
- Perform the tasks with good intentions which is undertaken according to the international law (Decaux,1995:72)

summer of 1995, Turkey took a backseat in Balkan politics. This was the time when Turkey was becoming introvert in terms of its foreign policy, concerned mostly with its own internal problems. This is also the time when Turkey realized that the West and the US was by no means prepared to promote and buttress Turkey as a regional power. Following the Dayton Peace Accords of late 1995, Turkey adopted a policy of rapid rapprochement with Serbia (Ünal,2003).

Bosnia war which the results of it reached up to present, at first was started as an ethnic/religious war but as Carl von Clausewitz said that “*war is a continuation of politics by other means*”, parallel with this opinion Bosnia war had occurred as a result of the political goals and strategies and than war had gained an identity of war between Muslim and Christians based on ethnic/religious factors. Because of the religious identity came to the prior position, discontents of other states which has Muslim minorities increased (Özgür,1998:226-227).

In Bosnia war both the Serbs and the Croatsians was occupied the considerable part of the Bosnia-Herzegovina. Efforts of the Western states and international organizations in order to stop the war was insufficient also they encouraged the aggressor. Two cities of the security zone (Srebrenica and Zepa) which is declared by the UN as the security zone, was occupied by the Serbs in 4 June 1993. These events had proved that the regions which was under the control of the UN was among the least safe regions even the security zones (Alkan,2002:32)

Another point here which must be point out about the Bosnia war is the efforts of U.S. at a moment which all hopes was run out. Active role of U.S. in the peace efforts caused some interesting and unexpected developments. At first US preferred to behave the problem as an internal problem of the Europe but Clinton considered the election in his mind, did not preferred to follow a passive policy which will be used against to his administration by the opposition party. That is why US took an active role in abolishing the regional problems in 1995 (Alkan,2002:32)

Turkey’s Bosnia-Herzegovina Policy

Arguments has started in U.S. and Europe in the framework of Turkey’s offer about the necessity of military intervention. General view was to intervene against the Serbian forces. Despite all diplomatic efforts of Turkey, Serbian intellectuals and the leaders continue to emphasize that the war was a “war of religion” and try to obtain a political framework for Serbia’s ideals to create the “Great Serbia” and “ethnic purity” . Beside of the ethnic purity policy, we also witnessed the destruction of the mosques and cultural symbols according to the principle of “Destroy if you can not manage”. There are two important factors

behind these attitudes. First one is genocide complex, the other one is the sovereignty claims towards the creation of the Great Serbia (Bağcı,1994:260-262).

According to Prof. Dr. Fred Halliday main reason of Western countries neutrality about the Bosnia was, not because of prejudice of Western countries towards Islam or being in a conspiracy ,but because of the instability of indefinite legal statute of Bosnia. Public opinion in five permanent members of the UN's Security Council shows that Europe would not accept the risks, costs, lost lives and the material damage to defend these new states. At this stage Turkey's role in the conflict gained importance Because Turkey not only because of its regional role, size and wealth but also heritage of Ottoman State and as a result of the migrations from 1878 to the end of the Second World War ,Turkey always was one of the country effected by the conflicts. After that a religious war will be harmful for secular and democratic Turkey and stability in the Balkans will be beneficial for Turkey (Bağcı,1994:262-263).

Turkey's point of view about the Bosnia War still preserve its importance and also its validity. Bosnia war clearly proved that, international interferences are far away from deterrence and instead of carry out a punishment for the aggressors, award will be apply for them . This was came out not only by the contrary views for the interference in United Nations Security Council but also by the concessive attitudes of international mediators during the peace talks in Geneva between the Serbs, Croatians and Moslems (Kut,2001:335).

If Turkey's Action Plan which suggest the limited air operation in August 1992 was adopted by United Nations on time and carried out by NATO, integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina may be protected. Moreover, it can be effective in order to stop the aggressor by a determined threat of use of power. After the Cold War it is obviously seen that, the mechanism to stop the aggressor are not available in the system and the only thing that could stop the aggressor is a determined use of power. Turkey's all diplomatic efforts were concentrated on military precautions to stop the aggressor (limited air operations or remove the embargo for weapons), humanitarian aid and registration of the aggressor (Serbs) and its actions (genocide) by the international community. But nevertheless, Turkey's efforts could not be enough to stop the war but this does not mean that Turkey was unsuccessful but instead it shows Turkey's relative power (Kut,2001:329-335) .

Turkish governments realized that it is impossible to follow a policy apart from the U.S. and intervene to Bosnia by itself (Hale,2003:277). In this context, Demirel July in 1992 Helsinki Summit of OSCE tried to persuade President Bush to intervene for Bosnia. He also condensed these efforts on the ground of OIC. There are three reasons behind this diplomatic attack ;

- Condemn the massacres by Serbs towards Muslims and protest the West for being neutral to these events. For example, one of the speech in Al-Azhar University in Cairo, UN's negligence clearly determined and emphasize the need to construct a common

solidarity in Muslim world in order to resist these events. Anyway Turkey was trying to obtain these solidarity (Bağcı,1994:263)

- Another goal of Turkey was hide the support of Islamic world behind expected UN initiatives and prevent a one sided military attack by the Muslim countries in Bosnia-Herzegovina .Because an attack by the Muslim countries can cause an image that Islam
- Another reason was, trying to stop the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina before turned into a Balkan war. Because this will lead to occur thousands of refugee. As a matter of fact we know that how the situation can reach the serious dimensions by the experiences (During the Gulf War 500 000 Kurds had came to Turkey and Bulgaria had forced 300 000 people migrate to Turkey) (Bağcı,1994:26).

West's answer for these efforts had came in the beginning of 1995. The biggest share belongs to its mediator role in the Entente which later will resulted with the Federation of Muslim-Croats (Hale,2003:279). As Criss said , Turkey had a constructive role in the formation of Bosnian-Croatian federation in Bosnia crisis (Criss,2002-2003:155). Beside of this, between the years 1992-1995, policy of Bosnia-Herzegovina had criticized on different levels and criticized a lot. General continuity of Turkish foreign policy had gone out on a relatively constant line and which is mean not to be adventurous. The Chief of the General Staff Doğan Güreş in one of his statement in 1994 said that “Turkey had gave military aid to Bosnia and Yugoslavia had complaint to the General Secretary of the UN with a letter about this (Özcan,1998:63). Even if Güreş had denied this for being a hypothetical claim, it will be confirm by the National Defence Minister Mehmet Gölhan² (Özcan,1998:83).

Turkey has always been reactive about violating the basic principles of international law and followed a policy that morally correct and consistent. Diplomacy which has been used as a tool for this policy is an example of efficient, multi dimensional diplomacy. But however, Turkey could not push the international community to take necessary steps in order to stop the war and get the deserved outcome with this policy. The reason of this, there was not any sanctions to stop the aggressor. Shortly, problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina, is a perfect example to see how an active and efficient diplomacy stay insufficient, if there was not enough power behind it (Kut,2001:336) .

² CHP was not on a different line about the Bosnia both politically and ideologically,just to oppose to SHP ,had criticised the formal foreign policy. Interesting thing here is,Ismail Cem who was an importnat person for CHP and than who will be the foreign minister, during the campaign of CHP in January 1993 said that, position of Bosnia interested Turkey because of the reasons for humanity,foreign policy claims and for security reasons. That is why, he defend that rational risks has to be taken. Than he made an offer that Turkey must open the Tuzla airport and send weapon in informal ways. (Bora,1994:318-319)

Summary of the Dayton Peace Agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia agree to fully respect the sovereign equality of one another and to settle disputes by peaceful means. The FRY and Bosnia and Herzegovina recognize each other, and agree to discuss further aspects of their mutual recognition. The parties agree to fully respect and promote fulfillment of the commitments made in the various Annexes, and they obligate themselves to respect human rights and the rights of refugees and displaced persons. The parties agree to cooperate fully with all entities, including those authorized by the United Nations Security Council, in implementing the peace settlement and investigating and prosecuting war crimes and other violations of international humanitarian law.

Annex 1-A: Military Aspects

The cease-fire that began with the agreement of October 5, 1995 will continue. Foreign combatant forces currently in Bosnia are to be withdrawn within 30 days. The parties must complete withdrawal of forces behind a zone of separation of approximately 4 km within an agreed period. Special provisions relate to Sarajevo and Gorazde. As a confidence-building measure, the parties agree to withdraw heavy weapons and forces to cantonment/barracks areas within an agreed period and to demobilize forces which cannot be accommodated in those areas. The agreement invites into Bosnia and Herzegovina a multinational military Implementation Force, the IFOR, under the command of NATO, with a grant of authority from the UN. The IFOR will have the right to monitor and help ensure compliance with the agreement on military aspects and fulfill certain supporting tasks. The IFOR will have the right to carry out its mission vigorously, including with the use of force as necessary. It will have unimpeded freedom of movement, control over airspace, and status of forces protection. A Joint Military Commission is established, to be chaired by the IFOR Commander. Persons under indictment by the International War Crimes Tribunal cannot participate. Information on mines, military personnel, weaponry and other items must be provided to the Joint Military Commission within agreed periods. All combatants and civilians must be released and transferred without delay in accordance with a plan to be developed by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Annex 1-B: Regional Stabilization

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic must begin negotiations within 7 days, under Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) auspices, with the objective of agreeing on confidence-building measures within 45 days. These could include, for example, restrictions on military deployments and exercises, notification of

military activities and exchange of data. These three parties, as well as Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, agree not to import arms for 90 days and not to import any heavy weapons, heavy weapons ammunition, mines, military aircraft, and helicopters for 180 days or until an arms control agreement takes effect. All five parties must begin negotiations within 30 days, under OSCE auspices, to agree on numerical limits on holdings of tanks, artillery, armored combat vehicles, combat aircraft and attack helicopters. If the parties fail to establish limits on these categories within 180 days, the agreement provides for specified limits to come into force for the parties. The OSCE will organize and conduct negotiations to establish a regional balance in and around the former Yugoslavia.

Annex 2: Inter-Entity Boundary

An Inter-Entity Boundary Line between the Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic is agreed. Sarajevo will be reunified within the Federation and will be open to all people of the country. Gorazde will remain secure and accessible, linked to the Federation by a land corridor. The status of Brcko will be determined by arbitration within one year.

Annex 3: Elections

Free and fair, internationally supervised elections will be conducted within six to nine months for the Presidency and House of Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the House of Representatives of the Federation and the National Assembly and presidency of the Bosnian Serb Republic, and, if feasible, for local offices. Refugees and persons displaced by the conflict will have the right to vote (including by absentee ballot) in their original place of residence if they choose to do so. The parties must create conditions in which free and fair elections can be held by protecting the right to vote in secret and ensuring freedom of expression and the press. The OSCE is requested to supervise the preparation and conduct of these elections. All citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina aged 18 or older listed on the 1991 Bosnian census are eligible to vote.

Annex 4: Constitution

A new constitution for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which will be known as "Bosnia and Herzegovina", will be adopted upon signature at Paris. Bosnia and Herzegovina will continue as a sovereign state within its present internationally-recognized borders. It will consist of two entities: the Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic. The Constitution provides for the protection of human rights and the free movement of people, goods, capital and services

throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. The central government will have a Presidency, a two chamber legislature, and a constitutional court. Direct elections will be held for the Presidency and one of the legislative chambers. There will be a central bank and monetary system, and the central government will also have responsibilities for foreign policy, law enforcement, air traffic control, communications and other areas to be agreed. Military coordination will take place through a committee including members of the Presidency. No person who is serving a sentence imposed by the International Tribunal, and no person who is under indictment by the Tribunal and who has failed to comply with an order to appear before the Tribunal, may stand as a candidate or hold any appointive, elective, or other public office in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Annex 5: Arbitration

The Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic agree to enter into reciprocal commitments to engage in binding arbitration to resolve disputes between them, and they agree to design and implement a system of arbitration.

Annex 6: Human Rights

The agreement guarantees internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms for all persons within Bosnia and Herzegovina. A Commission on Human Rights, composed of a Human Rights Ombudsman and a Human Rights Chamber (court), is established. The Ombudsman is authorized to investigate human rights violations, issue findings, and bring and participate in proceedings before the Human Rights Chamber. The Human Rights Chamber is authorized to hear and decide human rights claims and to issue binding decisions. The parties agree to grant UN human rights agencies, the OSCE, the International Tribunal and other organizations full access to monitor the human rights situation.

Annex 7: Refugees and Displaced Persons

The agreement grants refugees and displaced persons the right to safely return home and regain lost property, or to obtain just compensation. A Commission for Displaced Persons and Refugees will decide on return of real property or compensation, with the authority to issue final decisions. All persons are granted the right to move freely throughout the country, without harassment or discrimination. The parties commit to cooperate with the ICRC in finding all missing persons.

Annex 8: Commission to Preserve National Monuments

A Commission to Preserve National Monuments is established. The Commission is authorized to receive and act upon petitions to designate as National Monuments movable or immovable property of great importance to a group of people with common cultural, historic, religious or ethnic heritage. When property is designated as a National Monument, the Entities will make every effort to take appropriate legal, technical, financial and other measures to protect and conserve the National Monument and refrain from taking deliberate actions which might damage it.

Annex 9: Bosnia and Herzegovina Public Corporations

A Bosnia and Herzegovina Transportation Corporation is established to organize and operate transportation facilities, such as roads, railways and ports. A Commission on Public Corporations is created to examine establishing other Bosnia and Herzegovina Public Corporations to operate joint public facilities, such as utilities and postal service facilities.

Annex 10: Civilian Implementation

The parties request that a High Representative be designated, consistent with relevant UN Security Council resolutions, to coordinate and facilitate civilian aspects of the peace settlement, such as humanitarian aid, economic reconstruction, protection of human rights, and the holding of free elections. The High Representative will chair a Joint Civilian Commission comprised of senior political representatives of the parties, the IFOR Commander and representatives of civilian organizations. The High Representative has no authority over the IFOR.

Annex 11: International Police Task Force

The UN is requested to establish a UN International Police Task Force (IPTF) to carry out various tasks, including training and advising local law enforcement personnel, as well as monitoring and inspecting law enforcement activities and facilities. The IPTF will be headed by a Commissioner appointed by the UN Secretary General. IPTF personnel must report any credible information on human rights violations to the Human Rights Commission, the International Tribunal or other appropriate organizations (www.nato.int/ifor/gfa/gfa-home) .

After signing the Dayton peace Agreement Aliya İzzetbegović was addressed to his people with these words ; “This was not a fair agreement but it is

better than a war. When we consider the conditions, we can not make a better agreement. In the witness of God, we did our best and used all power we had in order to lessen the inequity towards our nation and motherland” (Alkan,2002:70).

Milosević was addressed his people like this; “This agreement had showed the concessions of all sides. But without these concessions we can not reach this agreement. That is why there is nothing that we must feel sorry. There is not a victorious side in the civil war of Bosnia and also would not be... Victory is belong to the Peace (Alkan,2002:70).

The Dayton Peace Agreements brought about a new era of peace in Bosnia. Success has been achieved in many fields particularly regarding the military aspects of the DPA. However, the pace of the civilian implementation is still unsatisfactory. The safe return of refugees and displaced persons and the handing over of indicted war criminals to the International War Crimes Tribunal are prerequisites to building mutual trust among the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Having contributed to the international peace-keeping efforts in Bosnia, Turkey participates in the Stabilization Force (SFOR) which has been set up as the successor of the Peace Implementation Force (IFOR). Turkey will also shoulder its responsibilities in the post-SFOR period. Furthermore, Turkey contributes to the UN International Police Task Force with 26 police officers. Yet in another conflict in the Balkans, Turkey is also deeply concerned with the situation in Kosovo. Diplomatic efforts to find a peaceful solution failed after the refusal of the Serbian side to sign the peace agreement prepared in Rambouillet, as a result of which the NATO operation become absolutely necessary. In this regard, Turkey fully supported and participated in this NATO operation against Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) (<http://www.byegm.gov.tr>).

Afterwards of Dayton Agreement

After Dayton Agreement interest of both Turkish Press and Turkish Foreign Policy to the Balkans had relatively decreased (Kut,1997:404). After signing the Dayton Peace Agreement, Yugoslavia tried to turn international system in its foreign policy but in its internal policy opposition was turned against to Milosević. Yugoslavia directed its foreign policy toward the membership of UN, abolishing the sanctions and normalize the relations with newly independent states. Milosević both internally and externally was representing himself as a person who brought peace to the Balkans (Uzgel, 2002:150-151). In any case, as the sole superpower in the post- Cold War period, set out to create a world order with no rivals, challenges or resisting states. We know that they were backlash or rouge states. Although U.S.’s list didn’t compromise FRY it become a *de facto* rouge states (Uzgel,2001:153-1). After Dayton, Yugoslavia which carries great importance for Western states, could not normalize the relations with Bosnia-Herzegovina and relations became more complicated. Dayton Peace Agreement has celebrated its 9th anniversary but it can be said that the goals which is aimed

could not be achieved. High Representative Paddy Ashdown also said that, “Dayton as a framework agreement could not give all responses. Despite all the mistakes Dayton is important in order to put an end to the war”. Dayton is important to put an end to a human tragedy but it could not be effective to solve the problems. Serbs, Croats and Muslims have experienced a war which lasted 3,5 years and caused the death of 260.000 people and 1,8 million people had to become refugees. 12 years had passed over the declaration of independence but Bosnia-Herzegovina could not get its real independence and lives under the supervision of Western states (www.tusam.net/ Dayton’un Dokuzuncu Yılı Doldu).

Peace keeping mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina under the leadership of NATO has transferred to the European Union in December 2 of 2004. A unit which consists 7000 persons has started to perform peace keeping mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This unit will use the abilities and capacities of NATO. Specialists accept this event as an important step for EU’s Security Policy. English Major-General David Leakey will be the head of the Bosnia-Herzegovina mission of EU. Duration of the mission in Bosnia is unclear but the decision about this will be held in the second half of the year 2005. Besides this, NATO will continue to perform its advisory mission to the government in its main headquarter in Sarajevo and keep joint search for war criminals. Management of the mission will cost nearly 70 million Euro to the EU (www.ikv.org.tr- İKV Bulletin, 1-15 Aralık 2004).

According to John W. Western, Dayton Agreement was a political agreement which puts an end to the war. It is not an excellent document of law. It has some weaknesses because of the conditions which were formed by the agreement but it can not stay without any changes. It can be changed and it is a lawsuit. These changes can be made by certain ways but the true way which can be followed are true application of the agreement and change it by the parliament’s related organs of law. But here there is a need for the political will of the representative authorities (Burnazović, 2002:10-11).

Trial of Milosević

Milosević came to the presidency of Serbia in 1989. After the declaration of independence by Croatia and Slovenia, he started an assimilation towards Slovenia in 1991 in order to prevent the separation. After Bosnia-Herzegovina’s declaration of independence in 1992, this time he attacked on Bosnians. During the civil war between the years 1991-1995, Serbs committed to ethnic cleansing with the support of Milosević. He became president of Yugoslavia in 1997 and started to represent racist attitudes, massacres towards the Kosovo Albanians which seek for their independence. By the NATO intervention in 24 March 1998, Milosević was declared guilty because of genocide. In 24 of September 2000 Milosević lost the elections in Yugoslavia and left the presidency by the result of a rebellion. Western world was acted like an onlooker during these massacres and oppressions. Now Western world was trying to regain its prestige by trial of Milosević. But he

was only surrendered to the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia, there is no any efforts to give back the lands which was occupied by the Serbs for four years and the lands are still under the control of Serbs. Civilized Europe waited to die for thousands of Muslims were being killed and forced to migrate to declare Milosević as a murderer. His trial process is going on for three years and if he will be found guilty , will be punished lifelong imprisonment (his trial has been continue for three years) .

Relations Between Turkey and Bosnia-Herzegovina

Up until now, Turkey has supported Bosnia-Herzegovina both at bilateral and multi-lateral platforms for the maintenance of sovereignty and territorial integrity of a multi-national, multi-cultural, multi-religious, independent and unified Bosnia-Herzegovina State, and has extended every possible form of aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina in addition to hosting many Bosnian refugees. For the establishment of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Turkey first took part in the UN Peace Force and then with a mechanized brigade participated in the Peace Implementation Force (IFOR) set up under the NATO umbrella. Turkey has also been one of the architects of the Bosnian-Croatian Federation. With the Peace Accord, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina ended and a new era began. Turkey, who continues to extend support and aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina, believes that lasting peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and healing the wounds of the Bosnian people can be attained through rapid economic development and re-construction. Prime Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina Hasan Muratovic arrived in Ankara on 27 August for an official visit. During the meetings held between Turkish Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan and Muratovic, it was agreed that the present bilateral relations and cooperation be further developed. In addition, recent developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the region were discussed. Muratovic's visit bears great importance because it was held prior to the first general elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina following the war. During the visit, the two prime ministers signed an agreement for the donation of \$20 million, which is a part of an \$80 million aid package to be extended by Turkey to Bosnia-Herzegovina (www.byegm.gov.tr/YAYINLARIMIZ).

Following the signing ceremony, Erbakan said in a statement that \$5 million of the \$20 million donation would be used by the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina for war veterans and \$15 million for emergencies, and that the remaining \$60 million, would be Eximbank credit. Muratovic said, for his part, that his visit and the said agreement was an indication that the existing friendship between the Turkish and Bosnian nations would further strengthen, noting that they would be able to overcome some urgent problems with this support to be extended by Turkey. An agreement for the extension of a \$60 million Eximbank credit to Bosnia-Herzegovina was also signed during the visit. Prime Minister Muratovic called upon Turkish businessmen to invest in Bosnia-Herzegovina and stated that

this would be the largest amount of aid ever given to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Turkey will continue to exert great efforts to help in the economic development and reconstruction of a friendly, brotherly country, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Relations Today

Turkish State Minister Besir Atalay said that, “trade volume between Turkey and Bosnia Herzegovina will reach 100 million U.S. dollars till the end of the year”. Turkey-Bosnia Herzegovina Joint Economic Commission (JEC) second session meeting started in Ankara with participation of State Minister Atalay and Foreign Trade & Economic Relations Minister Dragan Doko of Bosnia Herzegovina. Speaking at the meeting, Atalay said, “JEC meetings will make a valuable contribution to political, commercial and economic relations between our two countries”. Atalay stressed that Turkey had always supported sovereignty, territorial integrity and multi-ethnic structure of Bosnia Herzegovina. Recalling that the two countries would sign a JEC protocol and tourism cooperation agreement tomorrow, Atalay said that the agreement would facilitate investments by private sector. Meanwhile, Foreign Trade & Economic Relations Minister Doko of Bosnia Herzegovina said in his part, “we have a good technology and capacity in weapons and defense industry. However, we cannot benefit from our capacity. So we want to cooperate with Turkey” (www.turkishpress.com, Published in 23/11/2004) .

Turkish State Minister Besir Atalay and Foreign Trade & Economic Relations Minister Dragan Doko of Bosnia Herzegovina signed Turkey-Bosnia Herzegovina Second Session Joint Economic Commission (JEC) protocol and tourism cooperation agreement on . Speaking at the signing ceremony, Atalay said, “I believe that results of the JEC meetings will further accelerate our commercial and economic relations with Bosnia-Herzegovina. The JEC protocol includes many cooperation areas such as energy, agriculture and tourism”. “In line with the Turkish International Cooperation Agency (TICA) cooperation protocol signed by our countries, TICA will contribute to rebuilding of Bosnia Herzegovina and protection of cultural heritage in this country”, he added. Meanwhile, Foreign Trade & Economic Relations Minister Doko of Bosnia Herzegovina said in his part, “as a result of these documents we have signed today, we will further develop our cooperation especially in tourism”. Turkey-Bosnia Herzegovina Second Session JEC protocol aims to further improve commercial and economic relations between the two countries. The first meeting of the Joint Committee for the Free Trade Agreement signed by the two countries earlier, will be held in Sarajevo on December 9th, 2004. Under the tourism cooperation agreement, Turkey and Bosnia Herzegovina will set up a joint tourism commission (www.turkishpress.com, Published in 24/11/2004) .

Evaluation

Historical and cultural reasons on one side Bosnia-Herzegovina had effected Turkey's Balkan Policy because of the war, aggression and ethnic cleansing which it had exposed to. Turkey in the framework of its active diplomacy had became one of the determined powers in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Despite the clash of this policy with the policy of Serbia and Greece, according to Kut Turkey's defender position for the Bosnians and Islam world, decreased Turkey's influence in the region and caused to be exposed to sharp critics (Kut,1999:395-396). According to Robbins the biggest factor here was the close works of lobby in Turkey which occurred as a result of the Bosnia conflict, with the ultra religious and nationalist sides. Turkish government had some inconveniences in its internal policy because its Western sided policy during the conflict . It is generally accepted that the solution for Bosnia came by the initiatives of U.S. and Clinton Administration. Turkey as long as follow a policy along with the U.S. in its Bosnia-Herzegovina policy, is accepted as successful . After Dayton Turkey's policy for Bosnia-Herzegovina entered a stagnation period and this shows U.S's and Dayton's relative solution.

REFERENCES

- Alkan, N., (2002), “Dayton Anlaşması Gölgesinde Bosna Hersek”, *Avrasya Etüdleri*,No:22 TİKA (Türk İşbirliği ve Kalkınma İdaresi Başkanlığı),Ankara,pp.31-76
- Bağcı, H., (1994), “Bosna-Hersek ‘Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Anlaşmazlıklara Giriş’ ”, *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi 1992-1994*,Cilt:XVI,Sayı:27,Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi,Ankara,pp.257-279
- Bora, T., (1994), *Yeni Dünya Düzeninin Av Sahası*, Birikim Yayınları,İstanbul.
- Burzanoviç, T., (2002), “Dayton Sonrası Bosna Hersekte Güven Çerçevesi – Hukuki Şartlar-”, *Avrasya Etüdleri*,No:22 TİKA (Türk İşbirliği ve Kalkınma İdaresi Başkanlığı),Ankara,pp.3-29
- Criss,N. B., (2002-2003), “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin Dış Politikaları”,*Doğu-Batı*, Yıl:6,Sayı:21, Kasım-Aralık-Ocak, Felsefe Sanat Kültür Yayınları, Ankara,pp.141-158
- Decaux, E., (1995), *AGIK*, Turkish by :Gökçen Alp kaya, İletişim Yayınları,İstanbul.
- Glenny, M., (1999), *Balkanlar 1804-1999*, Turkish by : Mehmet Harmancı, Sabah Kitapları,İstanbul.
- Hale, W., (2003) , *Türk Dış Politikası (1774-2000)*,Turkish by: Petek Demir, Mozaik Yayınları,İstanbul
- Kut, Ş., (2001), “Yugoslavya Bunalımı ve Türkiye’nin Bosna –Hersek ve Makedonya Politikası”, *Türk Dış Politikasının Analizi*, Edited by:Faruk Sönmezoğlu, Der Yayınları, İstanbul, pp.321-343
- Kut, Ş., (1997), “Türkiye’nin Balkan Ülkeleriyle İlişkileri”, *Çağdaş Türk Diplomasisi: 20 Yıllık Süreç* ,15-17 Ekim 1997 Sempozyumda Sunulan Bildiriler TTK Yayınları,Ankara,pp.387-406
- Özcan, G., (1998), “ Doksanlarda Türkiye’nin Ulusal Güvenlik ve Dış Politikasında Askeri Yapının Artan Etkisi” ,*Türkiye’nin Ulusal Güvenlik ve Dış Politika Gündeminde En Uzun On Yıl*, Ed: Şule Kut&Gencer Özcan, Boyut Yayınları,İstanbul ,pp.67-100
- Özgür, N., (1998), “Balkan Devletlerinin Dış Politika Uygulamalarında Etnik Sorunların Rolü (1989-1997)”,*Uluslararası Politika*, Edited by: Faruk Sönmezoğlu, Der Yayınları ,İstanbul, pp.197-255
- Öztek, G., (2003), “Situations in the Balkans and Turkey’s Balkan Policy”, *Turkish Review of Balkan Studies*, OBIV (Ortadoğu ve Balkan İncelemeleri Vakfı),İstanbul,pp.5-13

- Öztürk, M. O., (2001) , “Türk Dış Politikasında Balkanlar”, *Balkan Diplomasisi*, Edited by: Ömer E. Lütem&Birgül Demirtaş Coşkun, ASAM Yayınları,Ankara,pp.1-32
- Rusinow, D., (2000), “Yugoslavya’nın Parçalanması ve İç Savaşta Osmanlı Mirası”, *İmparatorluk Mirası*, Ed:Carl Brown, Turkish by: Gül Çağalı Güven, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul,pp.113-144
- Samary, C., (1995), *Parçalanın Yugoslavya, Bosna’da Etnik Savaş*, Turkish by:Bülent Tanatar,Yazın Yayıncılık, İstanbul.
- Taşar, M., Metin, B., Ünalay, A., (1996),*Bosna-Hersek ve Post-modern Ortaçağa Giriş*, Birleşik Yayıncılık,İstanbul.
- Uzgel İ.,(2001), Finishing The Unfinising Revolution :The Return of Yugoslavia to Europa,Perceptions, (SAM)Ankara, March-May 2001,Vol:VI Number1,pp.151-165.
- Uzgel, İ., (2002), “ Balkanlarla İlişkiler”, *Türk Dış Politikası*, Ed:Baskın Oran, II.Cilt,İletişim Yayınları,İstanbul,pp.167-181
- Uzgel, İ., (2002), “Bağlantısızlıktan Yalnızlığa Yugoslavya’da Milliyetçilik ve Dış Politika”, *Türkiye’nin Komşuları*,Ed:Mustafa Türkeş,İlhan Uzgel, İmge Kitabevi,İstanbul,pp.117-170
- Ünal, H., (2003),Civil Thought and Democratic Movement Association www.sddh.org/en/faaliyet_balkan_ve_turkiye
- İKV Bulletin,1-15 Aralık 2004,İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı Yayınları.
- Turkish Press ,www.turkishpress.com, Published in 24/11/2004
- TUSAM Ulusal Güvenlik Stratejileri Araştırma Merkezi, Dayton’un Dokuzuncu Yılı Doldu 15/12/2004 ,<http://www.tusam.net/>
- www.byegm.gov.tr/YAYINLARIMIZ.BT: 10.2.2005
- www.nato.int/ifor/gfa/gfa-home.BT:2.2.2005
- www.tesid.org.tr/turkey/inter.htm.BT 12.3.2005

IMPACT OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA CIVIL WAR ON THE UN

Mehmet Hasgüler*
M. Bülent Uludağ**

The process of Yugoslavian disintegration has brought about a series of outcomes which has deeply affected the UN. The recourse to NATO for international intervention is a rather peculiar act in itself. The Yugoslavian mode of intervention has been a “first” in comparisons with similar interventions for the Cold War period and its aftermath. A military alliance pact with a political dimension has been used for a UN intervention. On the one hand, a protectorate force has been formed under the banner of the UN, and, on the other, the task of realising the Dayton Agreement has been delegated to NATO. Prior to that, coalition forces had been formed during the Korean crisis of 1950 and the Kuwaiti crisis of 1990. In 1992-1993 a multinational UN task force had also been formed for Somali. But, Bosnia and Herzegovina was the first ever when a military pact was directly employed for a UN operation.

In terms of the particular mode of intervention into an ethnic civil war as well, the Bosnia and Herzegovina case has got peculiarities. Up until then, it was practically an unforeseen thing for the UN to get involved in ethnic civil wars. The Congo Operation of 1960-1964 was launched against the separatist Katanga region. But, so soon as an internal power struggle spread overall Congo, the issue of Katanga was transformed into an internal aspect of it. As for the mission of Peace Task of Cyprus in 1964, that was a rather symbolic one as there was no question of interfering with the role of the central government. Again, the UN didn't get involved in the 1975-1990 civil war in Lebanon, except monitoring the frontier with Israel. The UN assumed an active role in the resolution of some civil wars, e.g. in Cambodia and El Salvador. Yet, there was not any such thing as the termination of conflicts through the sheer force of arms or direct intervention/involvement. The UN was to face with entirely new conditions in the Bosnia and Herzegovina case. Hence a rather unorthodox mode of intervention came to the fore.

The disintegration of multi-national federations such as the USSR and Yugoslavia is also concomitant with the foregoing change of mode. The UN has been blamed for being unsuccessful and ineffective in terms of assuming an active part in the resolution of crises ensuing the disintegration of both federations. After 1987, the economic crisis of Yugoslavia was gradually transformed into a political crisis, which provided the scene for the rise of Milosevic. It goes without saying that those problems which are nominally the internal affairs of a member federation do not, as such, fall into the domain the UN. Yet, the UN was expected to interfere

* Asst. Prof. Dr., Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University

** Asst. Prof. Dr., Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University

with the Yugoslavian internal strife. And the justification for it was that it was the UN's job to protect the territorial integrity and the frontiers of member states from attacks. The Bosnian War was followed by a vain search for the new mechanisms of international security. Virtual responsibilities were assigned to such organisations as the UN, the EU, and the Council for European Security and Cooperation. Being unable to assume a real role, the organisations in question ended up losing credibility. Yet, the disintegration of the federations in question was, in its essence, not any different from the post-1945 process of de-colonisation. One can see that the UN had played an effective and determining role in the process of de-colonisation. Hence the question that follows: Why is it that it failed to play a comparable role in the post-war period?

Answering this question, one should pay sufficient heed to analysing the changing positions and roles assumed by the US and the USSR in world politics. As the two rival forces of the Cold War period, both super-powers nonetheless supported the process of de-colonisation. The bone of contention was rather the future of ex-colonies after independence. Such countries as Congo, Vietnam, and Indonesia were the open fields of super-power rivalry. Yet, the process of disintegration of both the USSR and Yugoslavia was, politically speaking, a less determinate case. And, one could intervene into possible crises only to the extent that European and world security was threatened. Hence, the intervention into the Bosnia and Herzegovina War came within such a context. And, the UN was turned into the legitimate organ of the intervention. It is obvious that a large-scale intervention was, in any case, bound to take place with or without the UN. Indeed, a similar crisis happened to occur in 1999 in Kosovo. Even in the face of its possible transformation into a larger, regional conflict, no decision was taken by the UN Security Council. NATO decided to intervene on its own and applied its decision by itself. It was only later that a limited role was assigned to the UN in the context of the mandate regime established in Kosovo.

The Dayton Agreement of 1995 was essentially a US-backed UN plan. The Dayton Agreement was similar to the peace process experiences in such countries as Cambodia and El Salvador. Nevertheless, it also carried the characteristics of some sort of a constitution determining the principles of the state system to be built. This is one of the most important effects of the Bosnia and Herzegovina War on the UN. Multi-national states are projected to be built by means of external intervention and pressure. The very same plan has been put into practice in Kosovo.¹ By the foundation and formation of the new Bosnia and Herzegovina state one is reminded the mandate/protectorate model under the League of Nations, with the difference that it is now the UN itself that directly applies the model. The UN does not assign a mandator or a protector-state, but fulfils the task and the role itself.

1 William Pfaff, "Peace in Kosovo", *Commonweal*, 24/3/2000, Vol. 127, Issue 6

The main blow to the UN was the policies originating in the person of the General Secretary: Boutros Ghali ignored the unjust nature of weapons' embargo against the Bosnians.² And he simply failed to act against the ethnic cleansing and massacre performed by Serbians.³ Hence, he developed a strange model "impartial intervention".⁴ The UN forces became entirely ineffective under the model in question and, for several times, they were turned into near hostages in the Serbian hands. It was only then that the concerned NATO states grasped the seriousness of the ongoing state of affairs. Hesitation and absence of resolution ruled the day. Never before, had there been a comparable loss of credibility in the history of the UN, caused by the subjective stand of a General Secretary.⁵

To conclude, the UN tends to hesitate under circumstances of chaos in the international system.⁶ The Bosnia and Herzegovina War proved to be a most characteristic case of the UN hesitation. The absence of consensus among the members of the League of Nations upon common ends was one of the major factors which brought it to an end. It seems that international community has been caught unprepared in the process of the disintegration of multi-national federations. The failure of the UN to take active part in ethnic conflicts and civil wars is a sign of the absence of a common will and policies. One can argue that it is essentially the Bosnia and Herzegovina War that initiated the doubts and debates upon the new mission of the UN.

2 George Kenney, "Embargoed" *New Republic*, 17/10/94, Vol. 211, Issue 16

3 Ronnie Landau, "Never Again", *History Today*, March 1994, Vol. 44, Issue 3

4 Ann-Sofi Jakobsson Hatay, "Making Interventions Work", *Peace & Conflict*, 2001, Vol. 7, Issue 2;

Richard K. Betts, "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention", *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 1994, Vol. 73, Issue 6.

5 Fouad Ajami, "The Mark of Bosnia", *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 1996, Vol. 75, Issue 3;

Robert Wright, "Who Lost Bosnia", *New Republic*, 29/5/1995, Vol. 212, Issue 22

6 William F. Buckley, "United Nationsitis", *National Review*, 15/2/1993, Vol. 45, Issue 3

M U H A D Z I R (Refugee)

Namık Alimajstorovic*

"There is one rule in refugee survival: That being: "the one that builds a school in misery, turns that misery into a science, and that science will become a benefit to other people, therefore that one has the right to be proud in the faces of his fellow countrymen."

Migration and emigration is an integral part of the lives of the people. They are economies and political, voluntary and forceful. BiH is a country where migration and emigration were very common. More often, migration was the result of force, which was created by an occupational government, or an undemocratic government, or frequent wars which happened on Bosnian territory. Everyone has fled Bosnia at one time or another: Serbs, Croats, and Bosnjaks. However, the history of migration proves that Bosnjaks were the ones who most frequently fled.

Apart from a few written documents which were written in the last decades of the 20th Century, the history of leaving Bosnia, a particular history of Bosnjaks fleeing earlier, was not properly recorded. Something, considered very unreliable, a database of migration from Bosnia, particularly Bosnjaks, was left by the Austrian administration during their reign in BiH.

If something has been written of this matter in BiH, it was regarding the migration in Former Yugoslavia, and even that was very little. The only extensive writing on the subject emigration of Bosnjaks was published in magazine entitled "Bosanski Pogledi" (Bosnian view's) which was printed in Zurich but was edited by the Bosnjaks emigration.

First, forced migration of Bosnjaks from the land where they lived, and were a majority population, happened in the regions by the river Dunav and Croatia. This forced migration occurred after the Vienna War between 1683-1689, when the Ottomans Empire lost the control of these regions.

The second occurred in 1834 when from the Serbian town of Uzice forced out all of the Bosnjak population, even though these areas were mainly populated by them. Further expulsion of Bosnjaks continued from other parts of Serbia. The main characteristic of this was that they all fled to various parts of BiH. During these expulsions of Bosnjaks from these areas we can see the beginning or the start of genocide and cultureocide on these people which still goes on today. Genocide and uricide on Bosnjaks occurred in a time period of every 30-40 years. Each genocide being worse than the previous.

* Bosnia World Network

When Austria occupied BiH there was an informal fleeing of Bosnjaks towards Turkey. The occupied Bosnia for Bosnjaks, in economical, political, religious and overall view was a cultural shock. The first people who began to flee to Turkey were government officers and prominent Bosnjaks, but after them came the other socio-economical groups. With their own methods occupational government from Austria supported the fleeing of Bosnjaks. According to some researchers, during the Austro-Hungarian occupation, over 300,000 Bosnjaks fled BiH. Other sources state that the number was around 150,000. The Austro-Hungarian Empire at that time stated that just over 13,000 Bosnjaks had fled. However, according to the information of Car grad's (Istanbul) office for refugees, just between the years from 1900-1905, from BiH to Turkey arrived 72,000 Bosnjaks. Information with which Austro-Hungarian government manipulated was mostly inaccurate due to the fact that there was no proper system in place to record this information. The type of migration that was occurring was best witnessed by the Serbian writer Jovan Cvijic who just by looking at Beograd's train station could tell how full the trains were of Bosnjaks which were leaving for Turkey, after this he wrote "If this does not stop, not even a half of Muslims will be left in Bosnia." Cvijic wrote this in 1910.

The migration of Bosnjaks from Bosnia to Turkey continued at the start of the first Yugoslavia. Bosnjaks were migrating without the right to come back. During this time Bosnjaks not only migrated to Turkey but also started to migrate to the west. The reasons for this was purely economical, but it was also because of the repression from the Yugoslav government. Bosnjaks first began to migrate to the USA. Most of them settled in Chicago, where they formed the biggest Bosnjaks community in the USA. Most of these Bosnjaks came from the east of Herzegovina where the governmental oppression was highest.

During the Second World War the fleeing of Bosnjaks continued. This migration occurred because of fear from slaughter by cetniks, the so called Serbian loyalists. Most of these expulsions happened in Bosnia., especially in the eastern Bosnia and eastern Herzegovina. The thing that characterizes this forced migration of Bosnjaks is that the population from the villages fled to cities such as Sarajevo, Zenica, Tuzla, Mostar, Banjaluka, Bihac etc. There was a small amount of families which left Bosnia completely and moved to Croatia. After this expulsion, in many villages in eastern Herzegovina Bosnjaks never came back. Most of them set up life in Tuzla and its surrounding areas.

Immediately after the end of the Second World War a migration of 10,000-15,000 Bosnjaks to Western Europe had occurred. This immigration had a political and not an economical characteristic, and this is the result of the Second World War. Therefore, it was their choice to become refugees because they were on the side which was lost in the Second World War. Many of them have stayed in countries in Western Europe but some have immigrated to the USA and the Middle-East. A small number returned to their own country. The exact number of Bosnjaks that emigrated is not known because they were counted as Croats.

With the beginning of the second Yugoslavia under communist rule the migration of Bosnjaks still continued towards Turkey and Western Europe. The Yugoslav government made a deal with the Turkish counterpart about the migration of Bosnjaks to Turkey with no right to return. With this deal around 70,000 Bosnjaks migrated to Turkey. This migration started during the second half of 1950s. The migrants were mostly from rural areas. At the same time Bosnjaks continued to migrate to Western Europe, mostly to Germany, but also to the USA. Some predictions stated that during the late 1960s there was close to 20,000 Bosnjaks living in the USA. These emigrants belong to the category of so called 'economical emigrants'. In official documents the government called them "temporary workers abroad", despite a great number of them never returning.

The biggest forced emigration and migration of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, never recalled in their previous history occurred between 1992-1995 during the aggression. At that time the ethnics cleansing of people, especially Bosnjaks, had started. During this time the forced migration included up to 2,000,000 residents of BiH. Out this number around 1,300,000 found new homes outside of Bosnia. They are spread from Australia, New Zealand, Turkey, All European Countries, USA and Canada, and approximately in over 120 countries around the globe. A third of the overall populations of Bosnians live around the world. Therefore nearly 50% of Bosnian population had to flee from their homes, out of which 30% left their country. Out of those who left Bosnia around 20% are intellectuals, from doctorate sciences, university professors, doctors, engineers, journalists, artists etc. In this emigration wave, Bosnia lost around 50% of its intellectuals.

Leaving their country, for a short time or forever, leaving for other countries, doesn't matter if this migration was voluntary or forced, if it occurred through economical, political, or some other reasons, the people in their new country were looking for their belonging. They found that in some way through organizing their own associations, clubs, and networks. In that way they are trying to keep in contact with developments and realities in Bosnia. This is how they try to keep their identity and defend themselves from assimilation. Up until this last exodus we can say that there was no organization among Bosnjaks in Diaspora. We have to add to this that before they were mainly organized around communities which originated from former Yugoslavia. Organization through different means was very much present among Serbs and Croats especially after the Second World War. The Bosnjaks were often members of either of these but they never had any major influence. the so called Serbian and Croatian Diaspora was with their aims mainly linked to undermining and sabotaging the government as they were not able to return and also because of the ideology behind making a greater Serbia or Croatia.

We can say that among Bosnjaks there were individuals who worked on , one of these is Adil –Beg Zulfikarpasic who established a Bosnjak institute in Switzerland. Otherwise a more organized network was not established until the last

ethnic cleanings. At the beginning of 1992, the first organized associations are based around Djemats and Islamic Community, afterwards around Merhamet and other humanitarian organizations and finally around community associations who apart from humanitarian activities also started to work on promoting culture and tradition of Bosnia and Herzegovina organizing Saturday schools for children, rehabilitation, sport and cultural activities. Bosnia Diaspora also fight to recognize Bosnian language, educational grants for children who were orphaned, established of radio stations and newspapers in Bosnian language.

During this period most of the Bosnian Diaspora was trying to help our country in one way or another. At the beginning lot of humanitarian aid was collected and sent to Bosnia. You are also aware of this in Turkey. Millions of euros were collected all over the world and thanks to that BIH has been defended. Across the Europe, protests and meetings were organized with the aim of canceling arms embargo and stopping the aggression and genocide. At these meeting the truth about events in Bosnia was told. Following this the associations started to work on organized return to Bosnia, this process started during the war. In short all the jobs that are done by any newborn Diaspora.

Eventually the smaller clubs/associations are starting to form into larger umbrella organizations. One of the first such organizations was formed in UK during 1996 and it was made up of 24 associations and humanitarian organizations. The similar organizations followed in: Australiji, SAD, Canada, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, Slovenia, and Turkey.

Towards the end of 1998 we received a letter from Australia written by Dr. Mustafa Karavdic suggesting a formation of a worldwide organization of Bosnian Diaspora. The initiative was accepted in the UK and our community started the task of establishing such an organization. All those who were included from the beginning know that more than 700 letters were sent worldwide. The replies started coming in not just from associations but also from a number of individuals.

The preliminary meeting was held in London in June 2001. The representative from : Australia, Austria, UK, Denmark, Holland, Republic of Ireland, Switzerland, USA, and Sweden attended. At that meeting we formed an organizational committee made up of following members: Dr. Zdenka Besara, Mrs. Kelima Dautovic i Miss. Branka Franic, Mr. Faruk Ticic, Mr. Zaim Pasic, Mr. Anes Ceric, Mr. Nihad Filipovic, Mr. Ferid Kevric, Mr. Idriz Kadunic, Mr. Muhamed Siranovic, Mr. Idriz Saltagic and Mr. Spaho Bajric. It also included the following members: from Australia Dr. Mustafa Karavdic, from Sweden Mr. Hajrudin Avdic, from Denmark Mr. Mirzet Dajic, from Holland Mr. Besim Ibisevic and from USA Mr. Sukrija Dzidzovic. with the help of Mr Hajrudin Omerovic and Mr. Zlatko Vukmirovic they all made it possible for the first congress to be held in Sarajevo in May 2002.

The first congress of Bosnian Diaspora was held in Hotel Park in Sarajevo on the 25th and 26th of May 2002. That is when we formed a world organization of

Bosnian World Diaspora with the aim of networking and coordination between all BiH Associations who are active across the world. At this meeting there more than 200 delegates from 24 countries representing various clubs, associations and organizations. The management committee was formed and made up of delegates from 15 countries and the main office was decided to be London. During the last 2 years we started to address following issues: -the question of dual citizenship - educational plan for children in Diaspora -recognition of foreign diplomas in Bosnia -implementation of annex 7 of Dayton agreement -the return of property with the possibility of extending deadlines as a lot of citizens have not made a request because of geographical and other reasons. -regulation of pensions and national insurance contribution -satellite TV channel in Bosnian -easier legal and financial procedures for Diaspora who wants to invest in Bosnia -formation of ministry for Diaspora -various activities including: humanitarian, legal and educational -visa problems

So far none of these issues have been fully resolved and that is mainly thanks to our government, but this is the theme for a different speech.

The second congress of BiH Diaspora was held in Sarajevo under sponsorship of ministry of human rights and refugees on the 12th and 13th of June 2004. In hotel Holiday Inn. there were 192 delegates present from 23 countries as well as various government and non-government representatives. Congress made 38 conclusions and chose a new management committee. It recognized the need and continuity of such organization and took it upon ourselves to finally force state institutions to start caring about its 1.3 million citizens who live outside of Bosnia.

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AFTER DAYTON AGREEMENT

Yunus Yoldaş*
Ülkü Varlık**

ABSTRACT

The stability of a political system in a country is important for the country's level of development and the installation of democracy. In this context, the political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be developed on functional and structural aspects. In this presentation, we will analyze the political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina which is established by the Dayton Peace Agreements after the collapse of the Yugoslavia Federation.

INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is necessary to define the concepts of policy, system and political system. In this presentation, by constituting a theoretical frame, we will endeavor to describe functional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina's political system.

It is necessary to distinguish the concept of politics from its definition in scientific and daily life. The majority of various phenomena from a complex phenomenon is understood from the concept of politics. The utilization of the concept of politics in daily speech is different. According to the specific conditions that a society possess, the culture develops, changes and is evaluated.¹ Scientific definition is selected from a complex phenomenon for determined goals (ex., for analysis and perceptions) and used for these goals. In the Anglo-American scientific literature, the concept of politics is considered in three dimensions (shape, process and content / Polity, Politics, Policy).²

Operational frame of the "polity" is studied in the dimension of association. In this dimension, we ascertain existing laws, order of law, rules and regulations and directions.

These are the results of the political decision-making process.: The order of law that consists of the government in the parliament, courts, official departments and associations. The application of political *intéressé* is realized by official

* Asst. Prof. Dr., Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University

** Asst. Prof. Dr., Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University

1 Hans Georg Heinrich: Einführung in die Politikwissenschaft. Wien; Köln, 1989 p.11

2 Hiltrud Nassmacher: Politikwissenschaft München, Wien, 1995 Ulrich von Alemann: Grundlagen der Politikwissenschaft: ein Wegweiser.

Opladen, 1994, p.142 Yunus Yoldaş: Vervaltung und Moral in der Türkei. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Wien, 2000, (Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 31, Politikwissenschaft:405) p.65

associations, elections, freedom of thought, basic laws, political parties and associations.

“Politics” is related to the policy of power and implementation of the goals. These processes are realized through the conflict and consensus. This political process is constructed by the formation of the political will and the representation of the *intéressé* between the groups and politicians.

The concept of “policy” normatively constitutes the dimension of the content. These contents pursue the material and immaterial goals. These goals are interlinked. For example, family policy, economy and business policy and security policy.

What is a system? The concept of system is a consolidation of something rather than an element, in other words, is an arranged consolidation. Emerging from life, the system occurs with the orderly consolidation of the innumerable elements. Functionally, the concept of system, at the same time, brings the meaning of the many elements with the necessity of the comprehension of the links between the elements. In the system theory, this concept of system must be understood as a whole and the elements are interlinked in a certain manner.³

The function of the politics is to take interlinked decisions for the society. The state offices play a great role in order to implement these interlinked decisions. The operational frame and political structures are determined in the state bureaucracy. Legal processes occur, in this context, in order to securize the content of the power and politics. In the field of political science, the associations’ analysis units are wide and are for describing the factors of the political processes and important political contents. This is described as “political system”.⁴ One of the dimensions of the political system, with the repartition of forces principles, is to carry the specialty of formation of a will that depends on democratic competition related to all citizens.⁵ Political system takes binding decisions and its goal is directed to change the social environment. The most important characteristic that differs the political system from other systems is that the political system makes itself to be based on the legitimate monopoly violence ground and it makes this with an authoritarian way.

The political system makes this according to Montesquieu’s principle of repartition of forces, namely, legislation, administration and adjudication.

We will deal in the constitutional developments and principles section, with the formation of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s parliamentary system, and with the principles of repartition of forces in the related sections.

3 Georg Kneer, Niklas Luhmanns Theorie sozialer Systeme, München, 1993, p.17

Ulrich Weiche, System. Piepers Wörterbuch zur Politik, p.1007

4 Niklas Luhmann: Staat und Politik. Politisches Denken im 20. Jahrhundert, Opladen, 1994, p.54

5 Werner J. Patzelt: Einführung in die Politikwissenschaft. Grundriss des Faches und Studiumbegleitende Orientierung. Passau, 2003 p.246

LEGISLATION

The legislation power of the country consists of two parts and are on the hands of the parliamentary Assembly which is located in Sarajevo. Each part of the legislation has one president and two vice presidents. According to the article IV of the constitution, the Parliamentary Assembly has two chambers: the House of Peoples and the House of Representatives.⁶

The first part, the House of Representatives, comprises 42 Members, two-thirds elected from the territory of the Federation, one-third from the territory of the Republika Srpska.⁷ The other part, the House of Peoples consists of 15 Delegates, two-thirds from the Federation (including five Croats and five Bosniacs) and one-third from the Republika Srpska (five Serbs). The members of the House of Representatives are selected for two years term.⁸

As far as the procedures are concerned, each chamber will by majority vote adopt its internal rules and select from its members one Serb, one Bosniac, and one Croat to serve as its Chair and Deputy Chairs, with the position of Chair rotating among the three persons selected.

Not only all legislation requires the approval of both chambers but equally all decisions in both chambers must be taken by majority of those present and voting.

As an exception, if a proposed decision of the Parliamentary Assembly may be declared to be destructive of a vital interest of the Bosniac, Croat, or Serb people by a majority of the Bosniac, Croat, or Serb Delegates, it requires for approval in the House of Peoples a majority of the Bosniac, of the Croat, and of the Serb Delegates present and voting. In a condition when the House of Peoples fails to take the decision, the Chair convenes a Joint Commission comprising three Delegates, one each selected by the Bosniac, by the Croat, and by the Serb Delegates, to resolve the issue. In five days time the decision must be taken, otherwise, the matter will be referred to the Constitutional Court.

The House of Peoples may be dissolved by the Presidency or by the House itself, provided that the House's decision to dissolve is approved by a majority that includes the majority of delegates from at least two of the Bosniac, Croat, or Serb peoples.

The main responsibilities of the parliament stipulated in the constitution are:

⁶ The constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina article IV

⁷ The constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina article IV § 2

⁸ The constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina article IV § 1

- Enacting legislation as necessary to implement decisions of the Presidency or to carry out the responsibilities of the Assembly under this Constitution.

- Deciding upon the sources and amounts of revenues for the operations of the institutions of - Bosnia and Herzegovina and international obligations of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

- Approving a budget for the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

- Deciding whether to consent to the ratification of treaties.

Such other matters as are necessary to carry out its duties or as are assigned to it by mutual agreement of the Entities.⁹

ADMINISTRATION

PRESIDENCY

As far as the presidency of the Bosnia and Herzegovina is concerned, we have to understand what the article five of the constitution stipulates. According to the article five of the constitution, presidency is constituted by three members : one Bosniac, one Croat and one Serb. Bosniac and Croat members are directly elected from the territory of the federation. In the same way, the Serb member is directly elected from the territory of the Serbian republic.¹⁰

ELECTION AND TERM

In accordance with the election law adopted by the parliamentary assembly, in each entity, each voter votes in order to elect one member of the presidency. As an exception, the first election takes place in accordance with Annex 3 to the General Framework Agreement. If there appears any vacancy in the presidency, it will be filled from the relevant Entity.

In the first election the members of the presidency are elected for two years term. The term of Members subsequently elected is four years. Presidency members are authorized to succeed themselves only once.¹¹

⁹ The constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina article IV § 3

¹⁰ The constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina article V

¹¹ The constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina article IV § 1

PROCEDURES

The presidency is free to determine its own rules of procedure, which provides for adequate notice of all its meetings.

The members of the presidency choose a member as a Chair. The method of selecting the chair, by rotation or otherwise, is determined by the parliamentary assembly. However, for the first term of the presidency it is accepted that the member who owns the higher number of the votes becomes the chair.

Generally, all presidency decisions are tried to be obtained by consensus. When all efforts to reach consensus have failed, a decision may be taken by two members. According to the constitution, the Member of the Presidency who is in discord with the other two members, may announce a Presidency Decision to be destructive of a vital interest of the Entity from the territory from which he was elected, provided that he does so within three days of its adoption. Such a Decision is referred immediately to the National Assembly of the Serbian Republic, if the declaration was made by the Member from that territory; to the Bosniac Delegates of the House of Peoples of the Federation, if the declaration was made by the Bosniac Member; or to the Croat Delegates of that body, if the declaration was made by the Croat Member. Finally, if the declaration is confirmed by a two-thirds vote of those persons within ten days of the referral, the challenged Presidency Decision does not take effect.¹²

POWERS

As regards the presidential powers, in the constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina many responsibilities that fall upon the presidency are enumerated. Stipulated in the article 5/3 of the constitution, these responsibilities are :

- Conducting the foreign policy of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Appointing ambassadors and other international representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, no more than two-thirds of whom may be selected from the territory of the Federation.
- Representing Bosnia and Herzegovina in international and European organizations and institutions and seeking membership in such organizations and institutions of which Bosnia and Herzegovina is not a member.
- Negotiating, denouncing, and, with the consent of the Parliamentary Assembly, ratifying treaties of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Executing decisions of the Parliamentary Assembly.

¹² The constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina article IV § 2

- Proposing, upon the recommendation of the Council of Ministers, an annual budget to the Parliamentary Assembly.

- Reporting as requested, but not less than annually, to the Parliamentary Assembly on

expenditures by the Presidency.

- Coordinating as necessary with international and nongovernmental organizations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

- Performing such other functions as may be necessary to carry out its duties, as may be

assigned to it by the Parliamentary Assembly, or as may be agreed by the Entities.¹³

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

The chair of the council of ministers is nominated by the presidency and in order to take effect, this nomination is also be approved by the house of representatives. The chair of the council of ministers nominates a foreign minister and a minister for foreign trade and, if it is need, other ministers. Similarly, these nominations also requires the approval of the house of representatives.

The council of ministers is consist of the Chair and the ministers. It has the responsibility of implementing the Bosnia and Herzegovina's decisions and policies in the fields like foreign policy, foreign trade policy, customs policy, monetary policy and the policies that are stipulated in the article III.1, 4 and 5 of the constitution. Including, at least annually, on expenditures by the state, the council of ministers must report its activities to the parliamentary assembly. No more than two-thirds of all Ministers may be appointed from the territory of the Federation. The Chair also nominates Deputy Ministers (who shall not be of the same constituent people as their Ministers), who take office upon the approval of the House of Representatives.

If any time there is a vote of no-confidence by the parliamentary assembly, the council of ministers must resign.¹⁴

STANDING COMMITTEE

According to the constitution, each member of the presidency, by virtue of the office, have civilian command authority over armed forces. In the constitution,

¹³ The constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina article IV § 3

¹⁴ The constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina article IV § 4

it is obviously forbidden for all the entities to threaten or use of force against other entity. In addition to this prohibition, it is also banned for an entity, without the authorization of the presidency and the consent of the government of the concerning entity, to make enter its armed forces to the territory of an another entity or to let its armed forces stay in there is forbidden. It is clearly declared in the constitution that all armed forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina must act adequately and in respect with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state.

The committee on military matters is selected by the members of the presidency and this committee coordinates the activities of armed forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The members of the presidency must also be the members of the standing committee.¹⁵

JURISDICTION

According to the article VI of the constitution, constitutional court consists of nine members. Four members are selected by the House of Representatives of the Federation, and two members by the Assembly of the Republika Srpska. The other three members are selected by the President of the European Court of Human Rights after consultation with the Presidency. In November 1999, a new state court has been founded. The court deals with the trials in state level and its the court of appeals for the trials which were held in the administration units. Moreover, each administration unit has its own court. In Bosnia and Herzegovina Federation, in addition to canton courts – regional courts were created. In Serbian republic there are five regional courts.¹⁶

INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

1) High Representative Office:

Supervises the civil application of Dayton Agreement. For instance, the office has the authority to dismiss the politicians if they are not acting in accordance with the Dayton Process. The representative of the office is determined by the Council of Maintaining Peace and it is approved by UN Security Council.

2) *The roles of OSCE in Bosnia-Herzegovina:*

The duties of OSCE in the above mentioned area were started in December 1995. The Council supervises, humanitarian values, progress in Human Rights, organization and the application of democratic elections, and also inspects the armaments.

¹⁵ The constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina article IV § 5

¹⁶ The constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina article VI

3) Communication Arrangement Office:

Main duty of the office is to supervise the arrangements in television, radio, mobile phones and similar communication devices. Administrators of the office are appointed by High Representatives Board. The office is both local and an independent organization.

4) SFOR (Stabilization Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina)

SFOR is a multi-national military force comprised of 20.000 men under NATO auspices. Command of this Force is maintained by Supreme NATO Commander in Europe. Today the commander of this mission is Brigadier General Steven P. Schook.

Non- NATO members, also, have taken place in this mission. They have received the orders from SFOR command and operate according to the commands for their national commanders.¹⁷

POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLITICAL CULTURE

Political parties which play an important role in the political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina, are effective on determining the country's political culture. In this context, development process of the political parties and the profile shown by the voters' behaviours are quite important. Interruption of the political transformation and democratization in the country because of war were tried to be remedied by many attempts in this area. In order to understand the political system of the country, we have to analyse the political parties briefly.

Political relations between ethnic groups. These relations affected not only the 1996 parliamentary election but also they were one of the determinants of the other elections.

Relations between ethnic groups. First of all, Muslim- Croat Federation can be given as example.

The war strengthened the political homogeneity between ethnic groups. This homogeneous ethnic structure prevented the political pluralism between the ethnic groups. Three old ethnic parties create an important political effect area as the key factors that constitute the majority in political administrations. It is expected that these parties will probably continue to be the determiners in the political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

¹⁷ <http://www.stimes.com> 16.03.2005

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the party system which is established on ethnic opposition shows many differences. Federation's party system has a completely different structure from the Serbian party system. Systems of (Bosnian) parties are underdeveloped and are under the effect of singular persons. Current party systems are insufficient in dealing with the problems of forming the coalitions and they prevent the emerging of a successful opposition.

Compared with its population, Bosnia and Herzegovina has quite a lot of political parties. We can divide these parties that are active in the system into two groups:

First Group: Post- Communism Party Organizations

Social Democrat Party (SDP)

Bosnia and Herzegovina Social Democrat Union Party (UBSD)

Liberal Party (LP)

Second Group: Parties which are the continuation of the old ethnic parties and the others

Serbian Democrat Party (SDS)

Croat Democrat Union (HDZ)

Croat Farmers Party (HSS)

Nationalist Serb Radical Party (SRS)

Muslim Democratic Action Party (SDA)

Muslim Bosnian Organization (MBO)

Liberal Bosnian Organization (LBO)

Bosnia and Herzegovina Party (SBiH)

New Communist and New Yugoslav Communist Union- Yugoslavia Action (SK-PJ)

Apart from their political origins, these parties have an important characteristic. All of them aim the multi-ethnic party membership. All of these parties aim to implement a citizenship policy that doesn't depend on ethnic structure. Social Democrat Party (SDP), in juridical and political aspects, is the continuation of the BdK. Like all the ancient Yugoslav republics, the first free elections were held in 1990. In these elections BdK, a strong political party in the Yugoslavia Federation era, lost its power and effect in the political system. In the first election BdK has 10.3 % of the votes and 11.5 % of the seats in the parliament. In the second parliament elections (municipalities), BdK took only four of the a hundred and ten regional candidacies. After the election BdK (Communist Union)

was dispersed and some of its members went to other parties. This dispersion happened not only in central level but also in local administrations.

The second important political party is Bosnia Herzegovina Social Democrat Union Party. In 1990 election, it has gained 7.2% of the votes and in the first parliament it has 9.2 % of the seats. Because of the fact that the party cooperates with the ancient Yugoslav federation's radical organizations and political parties, it didn't keep its effectiveness in Bosnia and Herzegovina's political system.

In this group, third important organization is Liberal Party. The party founded by Ancient Yugoslav Federal Young Activists, had only one member in the parliament.

The second group of the political parties and organizations is constituted by the people who want to see themselves in the old ethnic parties. These political parties considered themselves as nationalists, and contrary to main parties they have a democratic and anti-nationalist speech. Serbian, Croat and Bosnian organizations were in this group. As the fundamental policy, they oppose the breaking out of the state, while accepting state's legacy. This policy was implemented by Serbian Democrat Party and Croat Democrat Union.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina , Croat Farmers Party is historically the biggest political party created by Croats. In the Croatian Administration , Croat Farmers Party said that they are unconditionally supported by Muslim Croat Federation party leaders. In the "Croat Meeting", held in February 1994 in Sarajevo, many political, cultural, religious organizations came together. In this meeting, they formally declared the framework of the Federation. They elected Croat Nation Council as the administrative organ. It must be noted that the framework of the federation comprise not only the Croats but also the Serbs.

This policy is especially supported by the catholic church. In addition to this, Croat Farmers Party has gained big support from the whole area controlled by Bosnia and Herzegovina's soldiers and from Sarajevo. Republican party is founded in Sarajevo, by the ancient president of the Croat Democratic Union, Stjepan Kljuic. The aim of the creation of this party came from the ideal of real citizen and patriotism. The leader of this party criticized the ethnic parties of the absolute political cruelty and disparition of the political qualities.

One of the other famous Serbian Bosniac organization is the Council of Serbian Citizen Council. It was created in the Muslim part of Sarajevo. The goal of this council is to represent the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This council played a constructive role regarding the Serbs, after the foundation of the Muslim Croat Federation. The role of this council in the future was symbolic. The other parties are Serbian Democratic Party, nationalist Serb Radical Party and (New Communists and New Yugoslav Communist Union) Yugoslav Action.

Muslim Democratic Action Party (MDAP) consists of two organizations: Muslim Bosniac Organization (MBO) and Liberal Bosniac Organization (LBO). In the 1990 elections, MBO gained 1.4 % of the votes and had two seats of the 130 in the first parliament elections. During the war , MBO and Muslim Democratic action Party got closer .However , because of the political and personal conflicts the main parties, Muslim Bosniac Organization (MBO) and Liberal Bosniac Organization (LBO), were created. Later, these fractions united with Muslim Democratic Action Party and became a politically important party.¹⁸

Muslim Democratic Action Party, Serbian Democratic Party, Croat Democrat Union took the administration of all important state organizations. Apart from Serbian Democratic Party, the other two parties had dominant structures. Since 1991, because of the lack of consensus between these parties , political, economic and democratic reforms had been hindered. The rate of participation to the 2002 election , that is to say 55%, showed again the dissatisfaction on the current political system. Against the protests and oppositions , solutions have been searched throughout the constitution. There is a lack of thrust to the political parties, both in three ethnicity. Civil society actors does not take place completely in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Approximately six elections after the war have been organized and supervised by OSCE. The last elections in 2002 have been represented successfully by Bosnia and Herzegovina's organizations under the international supervision.¹⁹

CONCLUSION

The political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina is young and quite complex. Political systems are formed throughout the constitutional processes and take their structures in these processes. In this context, structural and functional problems that emerge in the political system should be eliminated . In the elimination of the structural and functional problems , institutions that make political decision – making process of Bosnia and Herzegovina should have an active role. Compared with its population, Bosnia and Herzegovina has a lot of political parties. The problems related to multiplicity of the political parties should be resolved not only by the reforms made in political party systems but equally by the changes made in the election systems.

¹⁸ <http://library.fes.de/fulltext/id/00101003.html#ethn> 22.03.2005 <http://www.stille-ist-gerausch.de/2politikhtm> 16.03.2005

<http://www.hausarbeiten.de/faecher/vorschau/13959.html> 16.03.2005

¹⁹ <http://www.bertelsmann-transformation-index.de/index.php?id=177> 16.03.2005

REFERENCES

- Georg Kneer: Niklas Luhmanns Theorie sozialer Systeme. München, 1993
- Hans Georg Heinrich: Einführung in die Politikwissenschaft. Wien; Köln, 1989
- Hiltrud Nassmacher: Politikwissenschaft München. Wien, 1995
- Niklas Luhmann: Staat und Politik. Politisches Denken im 20. Jahrhundert. Opladen, 1994
- Ulrich von Alemann: Grundlagen der Politikwissenschaft: ein Wegweiser. Opladen, 1994
- Weiche Ulrich: System. Piepers Wörterbuch zur Politik. Nohlen Dieter, Schultze Rainer-Olaf (ed.): Politikwissenschaft. Theorien – Methoden – Begriffe. Band 1.2, München, Zürich, 1992
- Werner J. Patzelt: Einführung in die Politikwissenschaft. Grundriss des Faches und Studiumbegleitende Orientierung. Passau, 2003
- The constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Yunus Yoldas: Verwaltung und Moral in der Türkei. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Wien, 2000, (Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 31, Politikwissenschaft; 405)
- <http://library.fes.de/fulltext/id/00101003.html#ethn> 22.03.2005
- <http://www.stille-ist-gerausch.de/2politikhtm> 16.03.2005
- <http://www.hausarbeiten.de/faecher/vorschau/13959.html> 16.03.2005
- <http://www.bertelsmann-transformation-index.de/index.php?id=177> 16.03.2005
- <http://www.stimes.com> 16.03.2005

MACROECONOMIC ASPECTS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA'S INTEGRATION INTO THE EU AND EMU

Dzenan Djonlagic*

ABSTRACT

Bosnia and Herzegovina is already much more euroised than any of the first wave accession countries. The main objective of this paper is to analyse the major macroeconomic conditions for joining the European Union and the European Monetary Union, the readiness of Bosnia and Herzegovina's economy to fulfill all the necessary preconditions as well as the main challenges in the process of European integration.

The second part analyses conditions for accession to the European Union and European Monetary Union (known as convergence criteria). The third part analyses the readiness of Bosnia and Herzegovina's economy to join the European Union and European Monetary Union. The fourth part talks about issues of the sustainability and stability of the process of convergence into the European Monetary Union in the context of inflation, external stability such as exchange rate stability, exports and current account, official reserves, foreign debt. The final part of the paper concludes the discussion on macroeconomic aspects of Bosnia and Herzegovina's integration into the European Union and European Monetary Union and offers some recommendations for Bosnia and Herzegovina's macroeconomic policy to be implemented in the future.

The paper analyses the major macroeconomic conditions for joining the European Union (latter as EU) and the European monetary union (latter as EMU), the readiness of Bosnia and Herzegovina's (latter as BiH) economy to fulfill all the necessary preconditions as well as the main challenges in the process of European integration. Bosnia and Herzegovina has certain advantages with respect to the criteria of macroeconomic stability (such as price stability and exchange rate stability) ensured by implementing restrictive monetary policy through currency board arrangement since 1997. However, there are some delays in fulfilling structural reforms, in particular the development of money market. The main challenges in the future for the integration to EU and EMU are expected to be reducing the budget deficit and stabilizing the public debt as a part of implementing effective fiscal policy in the country.

The second part analyses conditions for accession to the EU and EMU. The relevant criteria, economically speaking, for the integration of BiH to the EU may be divided into two sets: firstly, conditions that derive from the Feasibility Study and the Stability and Association Agreement (latter as SAA) designed by EU for

* Res. Assistant, University of Sarajevo

the South-East European (latter as SEE) countries and secondly, conditions from Copenhagen criteria applied to all applicant countries. The conditions derived from Maastricht Treaty (known as convergence criteria) as regards the EMU have to be fulfilled by all members of the EU before they adopt the euro as common currency.

The third part analyses the readiness of BiH's economy to join the EU and EMU. The focus is on meeting already defined conditions set in the Feasibility Study and the SAA expected to start at the beginning of 2005.

The fourth part talks about issues of the sustainability and stability of the process of convergence to the EMU in the context of inflation, external stability such as exchange rate stability, exports and current account, official reserves, foreign debt. The main challenges for BiH from this viewpoint would be reducing the budget deficit and stabilize the share of public debt in gross domestic product (latter as GDP). The final part of this paper concludes the discussion on macroeconomic aspects of BiH's integration to the EU and EMU and offers some recommendations for BiH's macroeconomic policy to be implemented in the future.

CONDITIONS FOR ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN UNION AND EUROPEAN MONETARY UNION

This part shortly describes the basic economic and institutional framework that the EU has set up for the future members. Relevant criteria for the accession of BiH to the EU, economically speaking, may be divided into two groups. Firstly, conditions derived from the SAA whereby the EU adopted the Process of Stabilisation and Association for the BiH, Republic of Croatia, Albania, Macedonia and Serbia and Montenegro. The fundamental instrument for the implementation of the Process is the SAA. The fundamental difference between the SAA and the Europe Agreements is in the contents of the so-called evolutionary clause, and in the provisions about regional cooperation. While the Europe Agreements specifically stated the integration of the countries of central and eastern Europe into the EU as their basic goal, the SAA would assign BiH the status of potential applicant for EU membership based on the conditions, not only to meet Copenhagen criteria, but also to fulfill obligations concerning regional cooperation. The rationale for these provisions is to encourage the countries of SEE to behave towards each other and work with each other in a manner comparable to the relations that already exist among EU member countries. The requirement for the countries in the region to establish a network of close relationships reflects the same logic on which the bilateral relationships with the EU are built. Mihaljek (2003;29)

The main conditions for the enlargement of the EU were already set out in the Article O of the Treaty of Rome (1957), modified in 1997 in the Treaty of Amsterdam: «any European state which respects the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law may apply to become a Member of the Union».

In 1993, at the Copenhagen European Council, the EU has adopted decision according to which the «associated countries in central and eastern Europe that so desire shall become members of EU». This mentioned decision defined the membership criteria to-the so-called Copenhagen criteria as follows:

stability of institutions that guarantee democracy, the rule of law, human rights and the respect for and protection of minorities,

the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union,

the ability to take on the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union.

Later on at the Madrid European Council in 1995, the fourth group of membership criteria was added as follows:

the adjustment of administrative and judicial structures to EU standards in order to ensure the effective implementation of the legislative framework taken over from the EU in the context of the first three items.

The legal patrimony of the EU that applicant countries bind themselves to take over and apply is known by the name of the *acquis communautaire*. The *acquis* is divided into 31 chapters. We may say that one of the most important macroeconomic aspects of integration to EU is the central bank independence and the prohibition on central banks to finance any budget deficits. The European Central Bank is assessing regularly the fulfillment of these conditions. The Central bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina (latter as CBBiH), functioning as currency board since the year 1997, has full independence and is not allowed to finance any sector including government sector so it fulfills these conditions already.

The eleventh chapter of the *acquis* requires the fulfillment of the objectives set out in the area of economic and monetary union. Unlike the current members of the EU who have joined the EMU (Denmark, Sweden and the UK), the new members of the EU will not have the opt-out option of membership in EMU once they meet the conditions laid down in the Maastrich Treaty and knows as economic convergence criteria. These criteria are as follows:

Inflation. A member state has to show a price stability performance that is sustainable and an average rate of inflation, observed over a period of one year before the examination, that does not exceed by 1.5 percentage points that of, at most, the three best performing Member States in terms of price stability. Inflation shall be measured by means of the consumer price index on a comparable basis, taking into account differences in national definitions;

Interest rate. Over a period of one year before the examination, a Member State has to have an average nominal long-term interest rate that does not exceed by more than 2 percentage points that of, at most, the three best performing

Member States in terms of price stability. Interest rates shall be measured on the basis of long-term government bonds or comparable securities, taking into account differences in national definitions;

Exchange rate. A Member State has to respect the normal fluctuation margins provided for by the exchange-rate mechanism of the European Monetary System without severe tensions for at least two years before the examination. In particular, the Member State shall not have devalued its currency on its initiative for the same period.

The general government deficit may not exceed 3% of GDP, or should be falling substantially or only be temporarily above though still close to this level;

Gross general government debt may not exceed 60% of GDP at market prices, or must at least show a sufficiently diminishing (rate) and approaching the reference value at a satisfactory (rate).

Maastricht convergence criteria are precisely defined than any other criteria so they are becoming the kind of synonym for the readiness of applicant country to join the EU. This paper would therefore devote certain attention to the comparison of BiH's macroeconomic performance with regard to the Maastricht criteria. It must be stated overhere that these criteria are to be met only after the integration of BiH to the EU first and after spending at least two years in the Exchange Rate Mechanism (known as ERM II) of the European Monetary System. As we already said Maastricht criteria are defined very precisely but still there is a certain amount of flexibility that was shown in the past. For example, in the case of public debt criterion or the tendency of the debt to decline, Austria, Belgium, Greece, Italy and Holland have entered the EMU with the public debt in excess of 60% of GDP and by the end of 2001 only Holland had reduced gross indebtedness below criterion's level. At the end of 2001, the public debt of Austria amounted to 62% of GDP, that of Belgium to 108%, Greece 100%, Italy 109% and Holland 53%. Italy had the problem fulfilling the budget deficit criterion too. However, as far as BiH is concerned, it would be much wiser not to rely on such experiences and events in the past and meet criteria fully as listed.

THE READINESS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION

Due to the all known events of the war in the area of the former Yugoslavia, BiH has begun establishing closer relations with the EU only at the beginning of the new millenium. The European Commission (lates as EC) has announced on, 18. November 2003, the Feasibilty Study that considers the readiness of BiH to start the negotiations on SAA with EU. The Study has concluded, in the light of reforms already done till november 2003, that EC hopes to be in the position to recommend The Council of Ministries to open negotiations of SAA in 2005. However, such recommendation had the condition where BiH has to implement 16 areas of reforms identified in the Feasibility Study during 2004.

These 16 priority reforms have to do with political situation in the BiH, its economic perspectives and its improvement in fulfilling technical requirements from SAA. Out of 16 areas of reform, in those regarding political situation the progress has been moderate. The government at the state level (named as Council of Ministries) has not been organized yet as proper state government. The tension among the state and its entities still exists. The quick and efficient reform in the area of public administration is needed. The Feasibility Study says further that economic growth would ensure, if unnecessary public expenditure is reduced, resources for institutional reforms BiH needs.

BiH nowadays is ahead of big economic challenges. As international aid decreases, private investments must become the main wheel to boost the economy. However, the government has to do its part of the job and to create the environment to attract the investment. Due to this reason, the Feasibility Study has addressed the implementation of the Law on budget at the state level. As regards the fulfillment of technical conditions the remark would be that none of the relevant points in this area is fully done.

In the context of improving macroeconomic management, the Feasibility Study has identified the short-run need for reforms in the area of statistics and budget policy. The concrete progress in these areas is still awaiting. Despite the certain success in macroeconomic stabilization, BiH is still not firmly on the road towards self-sustainable growth. As it is emphasized in the Feasibility Study, production capacity, export-import activities, are still weak, foreign-direct investments (later as FDI_s), though improved, but still not enough in order to compensate for huge current account deficit.

The development of private sector is to be improved through more inductive business climate, better corporate management, decreased rigidity of work mobility, more effective as well as efficient privatization and creation of one new environment that enables market economy's functioning. Even if/when BiH solves the issues of short-run priorities, identified in the Feasibility Study, the country would face the issues to be resolved in the middle-run period of time. This means the need for coherent, but urgent action.

Directorate for European Integrations (later as DEI) plays very important role in the institutional framework of the Council of Ministries and tells to the state and entities bodies the importance to solve all 16 points identified as priorities to resolve and implement. In december 2003, as suggested by DEI, the Council of Ministries has set up mechanisms in order to improve the coordination in solving european intergration issues at the state's level and among state's and entities's bodies. As a result of such coordination BiH has started to design the european integration strategy with the primary goal of expressing the readiness for accession to EU in 2009.

Finally, the progress of fulfilling all 16 areas defined in the Feasibility Study is not satisfactory. The none of recommendations defined is not implemented fully. This would require more political unity and further commitment.

SUSTAINABILITY AND STABILITY OF THE PROCESS OF CONVERGENCE INTO THE EUROPEAN MONETARY UNION

The purpose of fulfilling the Maastricht criteria is to create stable macroeconomic environment for the introduction of common currency and integration into EMU. To what extent do BiH and other transition economies already meet the macroeconomic conditions for convergence to the EMU? Just to recall that the decision on the current members of EMU was brought in 1998 based on data from 1997. The new comers to EU from 1st of may 2004 (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) are expected to become members of EMU. Some of these countries would qualify to join EMU as early as the year 2007. This chapter would mainly focus on the evaluation of the macroeconomic performance of the BiH's economy based on the Maastrich criteria and compare BiH's convergence to the EMU with two countries in the region Slovenia and Croatia. Of course, BiH must become the member of EU first before it can continue to integrate itself into EMU. During 2003-2004, EC continues to offer the help in the macrofinancial aspect. This help has started with first grant at the amount of 15 millino euro in february 2003. and with second grant at the amount of 20 millino euro (10 millino euro in december 2003 and 10 million euro in january 2004).

In order to pursue economic reforms International Monetary Fund (later as IMF) and EC offer the financial support to BiH's budget and its entities' budgets (BiH has two entities: Federation of BiH (FBiH) and Republic of Srpska (RS). In 2003, according to stand-by arrangement with IMF (agreed in 2002 at the amount of 100 million euro). BiH has continued the macroeconomic stabilization. In this aspect, BiH has reached important fiscal consolidation and kept the price stability through currency board arrangement.

EXHIBIT 1

Criteria for convergence to EMU. Data for Croatia and Slovenia as well as for reference value are taken from Mihaljek (2003;42)

	price stability 1999-2002	long-term interest 1999-2002	exchange rate stability 1999-2002	budget deficit 1999-2002	public debt 1999- 2002
BiH	-0.6	0.0 0.0	0.0 0.0	-9.1 - 4.1	40
Croatia	4.3 2.5	12.7 5.7	-4.4 2.4	-8.2 - 6.6	49 52
Slovenia	6.1 7.5	4.9 5.6	-3.9 -4.9	-0.6 - 1.4	25 23
Reference value	1.4+1.5 1.3+1.5	4.6+2 4.6+2	+15 +-15	-3.0 - 3.0	60 60

Price stability is measured as annual average, in percentage. As regards price stability criterion, inflation for BiH in 1999 was not measured at the state level. According to the methodology at that time inflation rate in Republic Srpska in 1999 was 14,0%, and in the Federation of BiH inflation rate was 1,0%. Long-term interest rate for Slovenia and Croatia is based on ten-year government bonds; in BiH government bonds are not issued yet. As regards exchange rate stability it is based on deviation of end-period exchange rate vis-à-vis the euro from average exchange rates for 1998-99 and 2000-02, respectively. The Central bank of BiH does not devalue its currency according to the currency board rule. General government deficit is presented as percentage of GDP. Domestic and external public sector debt (general government basis) is presented as percentage of GDP. Inflation and interest rate data for 3 EMU countries with lowest inflation (2002, Germany and Finland 1.3%), and Austria and Belgium 1.4%; other criteria are based on the Maastricht Treaty.

By analyzing the Maastrich convergence criteria to join EMU for BiH, Croatia and Slovenia we may say the following:

Inflation. The inflation rate in BiH is nearly 1% at annual basis. BiH fulfills the inflation rate convergence criterion as the Central bank of BiH follows the currency board rules since 1997. With the currency board arrangement in BiH it is expected that inflation would remain as low as between 1% and 2%. Slovenia certainly has higher inflation rate and above reference value so doesn't fulfill this criterion while Croatia has better position than Slovenia and improves in 2002 as compared to 1999. Among these three BiH has the best position in fulfilling the inflation condition as a part of Maastricht criteria for convergence to EMU;

Interest rate. Since interest rates are measured on the basis of long-term government bonds or comparable securities, BiH is not fulfilling this criterion due to the fact that the Central bank of BiH is not allowed to issue any kind of

securities nor there exist any long-term government bonds yet. Financial markets in BiH have to be developed further. Slovenia and Croatia are not fulfilling these conditions too, but have better position than BiH. Comparing Slovenia and Croatia themselves, Slovenia is closer to reference value in both years 1999 and 2002;

Exchange rate. BiH has no problems with its currency devaluation due to the fixed exchange rate regime under currency board arrangement, so this condition is fulfilled by BiH. In the cases of both Slovenia and Croatia they fulfill the condition under the ERM II in both examined years 1999 and 2002;

The general government deficit. The latest data for BiH shows that consolidated budget deficit is falling started from the year 2000 at it is approaching to required 3%, so the effort must be undertaken to reduce this percentage to required 3% deficit of GDP. It was -9.1% in 1999 and -4.1% in the year 2002. In other words, BiH does not fulfill budget deficit criterion at the time being. Slovenia fulfills this criterion with budget deficit below 3%, in 1999 it was -0.6% and in 2002 -1.4%. Croatia has certain problems in fulfilling this condition with budget deficit above 3% of GDP namely -8.2% in 1999 and -6.6 in 2002, so Croatia does not fulfill this condition and has the largest deviation from the Maastricht criterion.

Gross general government debt. Both Slovenia and Croatia fulfill this condition that is public debt up to 60% of GDP. In the case of Slovenia it had public debt 25% and 23% of GDP in 1999 and 2002 respectively while Croatia had public debt 49% and 52% of GDP in 1999 and 2002 respectively. The public debt of BiH in 2003 was around 67% of GDP so it is above required one by Maastricht criterion. In 2002 the total amount of BiH's public debt had been 4.045.862.013 KM, that is approximately 40% of GDP. What is important to say that so-called old debt (pre-war debt) is 2.310,334.262 KM or 57% of BiH's total debt up to 31.12.2002 and new debt (post-war debt) is 1.732,528.751 KM or 43% of BiH's total debt until 31.12.2002.

By analyzing the structure of post-war indebtedness we may see that the most of money is spent on budget support function and financing of education, health and social sectors amounted to 938 million KM. The second place are credits for investments in infrastructure amounted to 493 million KM and the third place are investments in economic activities, especially in private sector amounted to 303 million KM. In the context of foreign debt, we may consider BiH as moderate indebted country. However, what BiH makes over indebted country is the size of domestic debt that endangers the country's macroeconomic stability. According to BiH's poverty reduction medium-term strategy (known as PRSP Strategy), the total public debt should be falling up to 49% of GDP until 2007, so that BiH would fulfill this particular Maastricht criterion by 2007.

In order to realize this goal, the entities' governments have opened so-called «escrow account», where the part of privatization earned money has been deposited as well as the money received from the succession process (process of sharing the property of all types from Ex-Yugoslavia) in order to ensure the initial financial

resources to reduce domestic part of general public debt. The reduction of public debt to the level of 49% of GDP is very important for the process of integration to the EU and EMU in later phase. If BiH wants to achieve this goal it must pass the law on public debt as soon as possible, more precisely during the year 2004.

Compared to the two examined countries, in this particular case Slovenia and Croatia, BiH is in a sound position with respect to the three criteria: inflation (the lowest rate of inflation), exchange rate stability (no devaluation at all due to the currency board's rule) and public debt ratio (up to 60% of GDP). However, together with Croatia, BiH has to undertake certain fiscal consolidation whereby the budget deficit needs to be cut to 3% or below of GDP. Another signal for concern is high percentage of public debt nearly 60% of GDP.

CONCLUSION

Bosnia and Herzegovina is already much more euroised than any of the first wave accession countries who became EU members on 1st of May 2004. The general conclusion is that BiH does not lag behind the other transition countries, or has even certain advantages in terms of the main macroeconomic indicators as regards fulfillment of Maastricht criteria. Among the three countries analysed in the paper, BiH has the best position in fulfilling the inflation condition as a part of Maastricht criteria for convergence to EMU. BiH has no problems with its currency devaluation due to the fixed exchange rate regime under currency board arrangement, so this condition is fulfilled by BiH. BiH does not fulfill budget deficit criterion at the time being. The public debt of BiH in 2003 was around 67% of GDP so it is above required one by Maastricht criterion. The major problem for BiH from macroeconomic's aspect in fulfilling Maastricht convergence criteria is long-term interest rate due to the fact that the government of BiH does not issue long-term bonds and this particular criterion cannot be even examined. Hence, though BiH meets the macroeconomic criteria for integration to EMU (with the exception of the budget deficit and long-term interest rate excluded from the examination), the major question arises for some further examination whether the current macroeconomic performance is self-sustainable over the medium term.

However, there is delay in the implementation of some very important other criteria such as those that are derived from microeconomic segment of the *acquis* (eg. legal system, competition policy, the development of non-banking financial system, etc). Since these areas are vital for the well functioning of market economy and competitiveness of business sector we may conclude that, provided macroeconomic stability is preserved, BiH would need another several years of reforms to catch up the level of readiness for integration into the EU and EMU.

APPENDIX

CHAPTERS OF ACQUIS COMMUNAUTAIRE:

1. free movement of goods, 2. free movement of persons, 3. free supply of services, 4. free movement of capital, 5. company law, 6. market competition policy, 7. agriculture, 8. fisheries, 9. transport policy, 10. taxation, 11. economic and monetary union, 12. statistics, 13. social policy and employment, 14. energy, 15. industrial policy, 16. small and medium sized enterprises, 17. science and research, 18. education and further education, 19. telecommunication and IT, 20. culture and audio-visual policy, 21. regional policy and coordination of structural instruments, 22. the environment, 23. consumer protection, health care, 24. cooperation in the area of justice and internal affairs, 25. customs union, 26. foreign relations, 27. common foreign and security policy, 28. financial control, 29. financial and budgetary provisions, 30. institutions, 31. miscellaneous

REFERENCES

- Mihaljek, D. (2003): "Croatian accession to the EU, economic and legal challenges", edited by Katarina Ott, *Institute of Public Finance*, Zagreb.
- Direkcija za evropske integracije Vijeća ministara BiH (2004): «Bosna i Hercegovina – Izvještaj o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju 2004».
- European Commission (2002a): «The EU's relations with South Eastern Europe», *online paper* at www.europa.eu.int.
- European Central Bank (2002): «The Eurosystem's dialogue with EU accession countries», *monthly bulletin*, july, pp. 51-63, available from www.ecb.int
- European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (2003): «The transition period».
- Central bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2004): «Annual report 2003», available from www.cbbh.gov.ba

FISCAL DECENTRALIZATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Sead Kreso*

ABSTRACT

The paper will discuss the relations among the specific levels within the state authority structure in BiH in the domain of fiscal relations.

The paper will present the following issues: the overall framework of the fiscal system and policy in BiH, specific issues related to the decentralized fiscal system and policy, constitutional framework for fiscal federalism in BiH, the implementation of the model of fiscal federalism in BiH, the division of responsibilities among the specific levels within the state authority structure and its post-war evolution, the related analysis of quantitative effects on public revenues and expenditures as a result of the change among the specific levels within the state authority structure, and concluding remarks.

The paper will contribute to the better understanding of the complex framework and the ongoing changes in the domain of fiscal federalism in BiH.

Fiscal System and Policy

The synchronized action of monetary-credit and fiscal mechanisms is crucial for macroeconomic stability and dynamic growth. Under the Constitution of BiH as part of the Dayton Peace Accords, the Central Bank of BiH functions on the currency board principle. The stability and security, achieved in the fields of Convertible Marks' issuance and monetary flows in general, is very important as support to the transition process and the dynamic development.

However, the implementation of «automatic rules» for the currency board's mechanism in the field of monetary-credit policy puts special emphasis on the fiscal policy so that the need for its highly efficient operation is greater.

The second important fact that puts emphasis on the fiscal policy is the country destroyed and impoverished by the war. Under such circumstances, there is an increased need for the state expenditures under the conditions of a lowered gross domestic product. In our case, these disadvantages have been considerably alleviated thanks to the continual international aid efforts for the post-war reconstruction and transition. However, given that the international donor assistance, as well as favorable lending arrangements, has already been on the decline, it is necessary to work more intensively on the reforms already started.

* Assoc. Prof. Dr., University of Sarajevo

The fiscal policy has three primary sets of complex goals before it, which it has to implement in a balanced way: the allocation of resources, the distribution of income and an efficient stabilizing impact.

From this viewpoint, it is necessary to strive for the establishment of optimal balance in creating revenues and expenditures at different levels of the state authority structure, and finding an acceptable measure in taking and redistributing income/resources through the channels of the fiscal mechanism. The current status of these parameters in BiH significantly departs from the common values which are indicated as desirable, thus making the stabilizing impact questionable.

Decentralized Fiscal System and Policy

The fiscal system of each country is a reflection of its economic needs, but also of numerous non-economic influences such as historical, political, cultural, etc.

There is a wide consensus in theory about the fact that a decentralized fiscal system represents a more efficient approach than a centralized one in matching the necessary expenditures with the needs of citizens for public goods/services (Brummerhoff, 2000, Musgrave, 1993, Rosen, 1999, Ter-Minassian, 1997). The efficiency in satisfying public needs is the greatest when this is provided by the authorities at the level that is closest to end-users of specific services, which the respective authority best represents.

At the same time, comments may be heard that the efficiency as a result of the fiscal decentralization mechanism may be significantly reduced, or even annulled, by the weaknesses of regional and local administrations, non-transparent system of public revenues and expenditures, the inadequacy of professional management in this field, etc.

In an attempt to apply the underlying theoretical approaches and experiences of developed countries on our situation, we find that in BiH, being a federal entity, it is possible to implement the positive experiences of more developed countries in terms of an efficiency achieved through decentralized public finance. However, there are clear gaps in organizing the meeting of a number of public needs, where we can clearly identify inconsistencies coming from areas outside the economy, especially from the political sphere.

The Constitutional Framework for Fiscal Federalism in BiH

The fiscal federalism, as a method of arranging financial relations in complex state communities, combines two interrelated aspects: the right to determine, levy and regulate taxes and other duties, namely the right to establish

sources of revenues, and the right to determine the volume and structure of budgetary spending. The basic feature of the fiscal federalism is the existence of an appropriate degree to which fiscal authority structures will be dissolved. This determines the scale of decentralization and de-concentration of the public sector's financial activities within the state (Litvack, Seddon, 1999; 2-3.).

While considering these issues, one should bear in mind the fact that their economic aspects significantly differ in terms of content from legal and/or political approaches. This is evident since the economic aspects of considering fiscal federalism, in addition to important constitutional differences regarding the issues of central and local financing between a unitary state and a federation, come to the fore as being equally important. This is a consequence of different nature of needs, namely public finance, depending on whether we talk about local, regional or state services of public character.

The degree of decentralization or de-concentration of fiscal authority, respecting the given state structure and current social and political factors, should have economic effects as its basis. In this context, the models of fiscal federalism throughout the history have considered the simultaneous impact of centripetal and centrifugal forces, and sought to find «equilibrium» between the common and specific interests of federal units under an ever increasing complexity and specialization along the lines of public sector's vertical structure (Oates, 1999; 1145).

The model of constitutional fiscal federalism in BiH is based on two general elements of the constitutional structure (Begić in Kreso S. at al., 1999; 6):

The Constitution of BiH establishes a federal structure, though it is defined as a federation of somewhat looser structure; and

With respect to the regulation of the economic space, the BH Constitution provides for a typical economic federalism arrangement, based on both the full freedom of movement of persons, goods, services, and capital throughout BiH, and the authority given to BH bodies and institutions to establish the essential elements of an economic system (monetary system, customs, foreign trade, international financial relations, etc.).

The levels of state authority structure in BiH which take an active part in this mechanism are as follows: the state of BiH, its Entities (the Federation of BiH and the Republika Srpska) and District Brčko, cantons within the Federation of BiH, and municipalities which in both Entities represent the level of local self-government.

BiH has two Entities (the Federation of BiH and the Republika Srpska), organized in compliance with their respective Constitutions. As these two levels of authority have their own direct powers, the respective Constitutions have established a clear basis for arranging financial relations based on the principles of modern federalism. BiH and its Entities have the same level of fiscal authority, i.e.

the right to autonomously define the scope of their respective financial activities, in compliance with the Constitutional framework. However, following the provision of the Constitution of BiH (Article III, Point 3.3), under which the Entities shall fully comply with the BiH Constitution, it can be concluded that the supremacy also extends to the relation between the laws of BiH and the respective Entity taxation laws.

While implementing and developing the model of fiscal federalism on the basis of the State and Entity constitutions, it is essential to give priority to economic effects in order to restructure the already existing roles and responsibilities of the respective levels of authority towards optimizing the provision of appropriate public goods/services. According to the BiH Constitution, the Parliamentary Assembly independently adopts the budget (based upon the Presidency's proposal and the Council of Ministries' recommendation). The budgetary independence, i.e. the direct financial powers of BiH is not compromised by the fact that, under the Constitution (Article VIII, Point 3), the Entities (the Federation of BiH with two-thirds, and the Republika Srpska with one-third) ensure the funds for the budget of BiH. Namely, such an arrangement where the central budget revenues rely on a combined system (direct revenues and quotas from federal units), is common in complex countries.

However, unlike the arrangements in other complex countries, the fact is that the Constitution of BiH directly establishes the Entity contributions to the budget of BiH rather than having their amount and ratio based on some common objective criterion like gross domestic product, or the fiscal capacity volume, or the level of public spending of the respective Entity. Likewise, the Constitution of BiH does not foresee any active financial equalization between the Entities, which is quite unusual, compared to the common practice of using intergovernmental transfers.

The non-typical dimension of the constitutional law and fiscal structure of BiH is also reflected by the fact that one of the Entities comprises a federation structure (FBiH), so there are three, instead of two, levels of authority which hold direct powers (BiH, FBiH and cantons). In the actual implementation of these constitutional provisions, this deviation has been considerably reduced regarding the scope of cantonal direct powers and the problem has been practically resolved by the Law on the Appropriation of Public Revenues in the FBiH and on the Financing of the FBiH, whereby the right to determine actual taxes has been explicitly reserved for the Federation, while cantons have passed the appropriate taxation laws that regulate the respective forms of taxation and the distribution of revenues generated in this way among the cantons and municipalities.

The Constitution of the Federation of BiH has also established the financial equalization on the decentralized levels of political and territorial structure, so assistance to the cantons is by the Law provided in the expenditure structure of the Federation budget. However, the Law has essentially established a palliative

solution for the active financial equalization, since the Federation government defines the criteria for the assistance to cantons by its decisions.

The Implementation of the Model of Fiscal Federalism in BiH

BiH is a complex state where fiscal system and policy are possible to be defined only on the bases of fiscal federalism. The levels of the state authority structure, which take an active part in this mechanism, are shown in the following diagram (Diagram 1):

The unusually complex organization of the state of BiH and dissonant political options in tackling a number of issues, especially in the context of developing a more efficient fiscal policy's mechanism, in addition to inadequate attention given to its optimal impact, have produced inconsistency, compared to the arrangements known of and applied elsewhere. This is specially reflected in the fact that mid-levels of the state authority structure in BiH (the Entities, cantons in F BiH) have a higher degree of authority than they would otherwise have in a better harmonized structure. In such a situation, the Council of Ministers of BiH (the Government of BiH) level and the level of local self-government are left aside, without the appropriate capacity to fulfill their respective roles. All of this was happening against the background of a slow integration of the single economic space in BiH, a reduced pace of reforms towards the harmonization of the fiscal mechanism, the resulting competition between the Entities in many domains (especially in the area of taxation), and the lower capacity of revenue collection and sub-optimal allocation of (public) resources (World Bank, 2003; 8).

To illustrate the above-mentioned facts, the division of responsibilities among the defined levels of the state authority structure will be presented along with the post-war evolution of powers - which has significantly contributed to the improvement of the fiscal mechanism- and an overview of quantitative effects of these processes.

Division of responsibilities among the defined levels of state authority structure and their post-war evolution

The budget of the State BiH is mainly funded by the contributions from the Entities: two-thirds of the amount comes from the Federation of BiH, and the remaining one-third from the Republika Srpska. The own source revenues of the state of BiH were only the revenues coming from the appropriated fees (consular fees, civil aviation fees, etc.), but these revenues were comparatively low in volume.

The customs revenues were own source revenues for the Entity budgets rather than the revenues of the state of BiH, as one would normally have expected.

The customs policy was and still is regulated at the BiH State level, but the customs revenues which used to belong 100% to Entity budgets have, since 1 January 2005, become the revenues of BiH budget.

The biggest changes in redesigning the functions and fiscal powers in BiH have been made in the relations: the State of BiH – its Entities. These changes will be presented on the basis of functions which appear in the budgets, especially the budget of the State BiH. In that respect, a strong spreading of the functions and the corresponding expenditures can be observed, as well as an indication of substantial changes in the appropriation at the revenue side. These changes are either under preparation or they have already been proposed to the level of BiH. The below-mentioned data have been taken from the Law on Budget of BiH Institutions (Official Gazette BiH; 1997-2004).

The budget of the State of BiH in 1997 had financed the Parliamentary Assembly, the Presidency and the Constitutional Court, as well as two ministries at the level of the Council of Ministries of BiH: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Relations. One can say that during this period BiH had the government at state level only symbolically. The funds for foreign debt servicing are a separate issue, since they were at that time ensured from external assistance. At the same time, the foreign debt repayment was defined as the obligation of the state BiH but, for the time being, the entire amount is addressed to the Entities. Therefore, the annual repayments are funded from the Entity budgets, while the repayments are actually effected via “The Budget of the Institutions of BiH and the International Obligations of BiH”.

In the budget for 2001, the above-mentioned situation was greatly improved. Besides the Parliament, the Presidency and the Constitutional Court, the budget had financed the Council of Ministries, and six ministries as follows: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Civil Affairs and Communications, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Relations, the Ministry for European Integration, the Ministry of Finance and Treasury, the Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees, as well as another ten very important services: the State Border Service, the Audit Office for Financial Operations of the Institutions of BiH, the Office for Civil Aviation, the Statistics Agency, the Commission for Real Property Claims, the Human Rights Chamber, the Ombudsmen Office, the Foreign Investment Promotion Agency (FIPA), etc. The expenditures for financing these activities (without international obligations of BiH) have increased by around 2.5 times, compared to their level in 1997.

In the year 2004, a further improvement in the development of the state functions can be observed, comprising new functions like: the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council, the Court of BiH, the Public Prosecutor’s Office of BiH, the Public Attorney’s Office of BiH, and several very important functions within the Council of Ministers. These are: the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Justice,

Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of Security. This is how some of the most important functions which had, in the post-war period, been the issues deeply lacking logic in the design of public needs - the needs that are otherwise being provided for by the central government in any other country - have been integrated at the state level. Besides these functions, new services have been further developed at the level of BiH state: the Indirect Taxation Administration, the Veterinary Office of BiH, CIPS Project Implementation Directorate, the Election Commission of BiH, the Civil Service Agency, the Institute for Standards and Metrology, the Archives of BiH, the Committee for the Protection of National Monuments, etc. The expenditures for supporting these activities have more than doubled, compared to the year 2001.

The High Representative made in February 2003 the Decision on the Establishment of the Commission for Indirect Taxation Policy (Službeni glasnik BiH No. 4, 2003), pursuant to his powers and aiming at ensuring the economic sustainability of BiH.

The purpose of this decision was: a) to merge separate customs administrations in BiH into a single one, b) to introduce a single value added tax for the entire country, and c) to establish the Indirect Tax Administration (ITA). The ITA should integrate the single customs administration and operate at the state level. It will be responsible for the collection and management of the indirect taxes, including customs and VAT.

As a result of these legislative arrangements, pursuant to article IV.4 a) of the BiH Constitution, the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH adopted in December 2003 the Law on Indirect Taxation System in BiH (Službeni glasnik BiH No. 44, 2003). This Law established the institutional and organizational basis for the single indirect taxation system in BiH in support of the fiscal sustainability and the single economic space in BiH, as well as a unified system of indirect tax collection and allocation to the BiH, FBiH, RS and BD budgets in a transparent manner. This step was a historical landmark in the process of establishing the own source revenues of the State of BiH.

Important progress was further made by adopting the respective implementing legislation: Law on Sales Tax on Goods and Services, and the Law on Excise Duties for High-tariff Goods in BiH (Službeni glasnik BiH No. 62, 2004). These laws, for the first time since the Dayton Peace Accords were signed, have provided the State of BiH with a concrete mechanism to directly collect (indirect) taxes. This means the actual and final implementation of the constitutionally defined capacity of BiH in this field, as well as the basis for the respective single regulatory framework and the planned introduction of the VAT in mid-2006 or January 2007.

The changes to the revenue collection with respect to customs duties, customs fees, excise duties, and sales tax on high-tariff goods will result in such an arrangement whereby the amount in excess of the funds required to finance the

BiH institutions is distributed among the Entities and District Brčko proportionately to the respective revenues collected. For the year 2005, being the first year in the implementation of these legislative arrangements, the funds in excess of those required to finance the BiH institutions will be distributed as follows: 65.72% to FBiH, 30.49% to RS, and 3.79% to BD.

The Federation of BiH, being one of the two Entities within the state of BiH, is decentralized in the fiscal sense, and it consists of ten cantons. The Federation and cantons have fiscal sovereignty. Municipalities, being the units of local government, have a strictly limited scope of fiscal sovereignty.

There is a clear distinction with respect to the Federation and cantons between:

The part of the revenues which belongs to the budget of the Federation of BiH and the part belonging to the cantonal budgets;

Those public expenditures which are funded from the budget of the Federation of BiH and those funded from the cantonal budgets.

Only the area of financing social activities is not precisely defined because there exists the so-called common authority of the budget of the Federation of BiH and the budgets of cantons.

The fiscal relations between the FBiH and its cantons are regulated by the Law on the Appropriation of Public Revenues in the FBiH and the Financing of the FBiH. According to this Law, the revenues of the Federation of BiH are as follows: a portion of customs duties collected from physical and legal persons, and customs fees, as well as excise duties and the appropriate sales taxes, exceeding the amount required to finance the BiH budget; Federation administrative fees; judicial fees collected by the courts in the Federation of BiH; fines collected under Federation legislation, etc.

The revenues of the cantonal budgets are as follows: sales tax on goods and services, excluding the sales tax on high-tariff goods; corporate income tax; payroll tax and personal income tax; fines collected under cantonal legislation, etc.

Subsequent to the amendments to the Law on the Appropriation of Public Revenues in the Federation of BiH in 1998, corporate income tax for certain legal persons: banks, insurance companies, public enterprises PTT and Telecom BiH, as well as BiH Lottery, has been re-allocated to the budget of the Federation of BiH as the Federation revenue.

Under this Law, the expenditures of the FBiH are used to finance legislative, judicial and executive authorities, as well as: reconstruction as a contribution to the World Bank projects; health, education, social welfare, science, culture, sport, commodity reserves, and aid to cantons; the Army of the Federation of BiH (until the unification of the army at the State level).

The cantons finance the following expenditures: cantonal institutions (legislative, judicial and executive cantonal authorities); health care; education, culture; social services, etc.

Contributions may be introduced under the law in order to finance health care, social insurance, education, culture and sport.

Public revenues are appropriated to the municipalities in the Federation of BiH in compliance with cantonal regulations. The cantons have legislated the allocation of fiscal revenues between the cantonal and municipal levels, thus a certain percentage of the public revenues belonging to the cantonal budgets is being transferred to municipalities. In the majority of the cantons, municipalities receive between 20-30% of sales tax and payroll tax, while in some cantons, corporate income tax is 100% transferred to the municipalities.

The municipal fiscal revenues comprise the tax from agricultural activities, personal income tax, property tax, inheritance and gift tax, and various municipal fees.

In the Republika Srpska, the list of revenues that belong to the Entity's budget is much more extensive since this Entity is centralized and covers by its activities the space covered by the cantons in the Federation of BiH. The municipalities have the same role as the one they have in the Federation of BiH, though somewhat broader, given that the Republika Srpska does not have the cantons.

At this point, it should be noted that the heaviest burden of the post-war problems regarding the issues of social welfare, refugees and displaced persons in both Entities is placed on municipal budgets, exceeding by far their capacities, particularly budgetary resources, to efficiently deal with these issues.

It is in this light that one should observe the actual scope for autonomy of municipalities in BiH under the current circumstances. They formally have the autonomous status and the scope of activities close to European standards on the local self-government, but primarily with respect to the provision of appropriate services. On the other hand, given the gravity of the presented problems and the amount of funds they dispose of, the municipalities are faced with a huge number of requests which they are unable to meet in an efficient way. Under the Law on Local Self-Government, the municipalities have been granted powers in the domains of urban planning, public utilities (water supply, sewerage, sanitation, waste collection), preschool education, the maintenance of primary and secondary school buildings, the transportation of students and teachers, physical education, emergency medical services, the supply of medical consumables, culture, libraries, sports, parks and street lighting. The municipal own source revenues, transfers from cantons (FBiH) and donor assistance are insufficient to deal with all these issues in an efficient manner.

The analysis of quantitative effects of public spending as the consequence of the changes in responsibilities among the specified levels of state authority structure

The volume of public funds available according to the specified levels of the state authority structure in BiH has been changed intensively throughout the post-war period. In order to illustrate these quantitative changes, the following analysis is presented.

The total budget of the State of BiH in 1996 amounted to one-fourth of the budget of the Sarajevo Canton or, if only “the Budget of the Institutions of BiH” is taken into account, without “the Budget of International Obligations of BiH”, then the budget of the Sarajevo Canton was fifteen times larger. During the same period, the budget of the Federation of BiH amounted to two-thirds of the budget of the Sarajevo Canton. In 2004, the budget planned for BiH was almost at the same level, while the budget of the Federation of BiH was 2.5 times as big as the budget of Sarajevo Canton.

Overview of Expenditures of the Government of BiH

(without external debt liabilities, in % GDP)

Year	2002	2003	2004
Expenditures for the Institutions of BiH	1,72	1,70	1,64

Calculated on the basis of: Medium-Term Development Strategy for BiH (PRSP), Table 1

This strong asymmetry may be illustrated by another example. The budget of the institutions of BiH, without the budget for external debt obligations, was projected at the level of 212 million KM in 2004 while, at the same time, the budget of District Brčko, a small town/region at the far north-east of the country, was at the level of 203 million KM (Bulletin of CBBIH, 2004; Tables 42 and 45). At the same time, the budget of the Posavina Canton, which is neighboring and not smaller than District Brčko, was projected at the volume of 36.7 million KM for the year 2004? These strong asymmetries between different specified levels of the state authority structure in this case show a (special) status of District Brčko, equal to that of the Entities in BiH.

The Dayton Peace Accords have fully accepted the federal structure of the Entity - the Federation of BiH, which was established under the Constitution of the Federation of BiH of 1994. Such a constitution of the state authority structure has, in domain of public finance, resulted in deep changes in this Entity in terms of the fiscal decentralization (the creation of cantons in additional to the traditional organization comprising cities and municipalities). In the Republika Srpska, these changes have not happened.

To illustrate the historical changes which have taken place in the area of the fiscal decentralization in the Federation of BiH, the pre-war budget for the City of

Sarajevo and its ten municipalities for period 1983-1985 amounted to nearly 20 million USD (Trifković, Šabanović, 2001;73). In period just before the war, the same budget was halved compared to the above-mentioned one.

After the post-war organization was created, the State of BiH, the Sarajevo Canton, the City of Sarajevo and nine municipalities had the total budget amounting to 442 million KM in 2000. At the then comparatively high rate of exchange of USD (1 USD = 2.1198 KM, Bulletin 3, CBBiH, 2004, Table 41), this amount was 20 times higher than the pre-war 20 million USD.

However, if one is to compare the budgets of these three levels of authority, a dramatic difference in their amounts is evident, i.e. in the year 2000, the Canton received 83.4% of the total amount, the City of Sarajevo received 3%, while the nine municipalities received 13.6%. It is clear that the role of the city cannot be created under such circumstances, whether as the unit of the administrative structure or local government.

The description of the problem the city, “squeezed” by the post-war state authority structure is faced with, being the unit of the local administration and the local self-government, may be broadened by yet another example: In 2003, 577 million KM worth of public revenues were collected in Banja Luka, while the budget of the city amounted to only 58 million KM, or 10% of the amount, which is intolerably low. This is why the city cannot develop at a faster pace nor can the citizens’ needs be met (building infrastructure, social welfare services to citizens, etc.) The centralization of funds at the level of the Republika Srpska, as well as the centralization of some other functions, is essentially the limiting factor to the development of the city of Banja Luka (The Mayor of Banja Luka, 2003).

The following tables are presented in order to better illustrate the general structure and the share of public spending in the specified levels of the state authority structure in the Entities of BiH:

Consolidated Overview of Expenditures for the Federation of BiH (in % GDP)

Level/Year	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total expenditures	51.1	48.1	48.8	48.1	46.4	45.9
Government of F BiH	14.7	12.0	10.9	11.7	10.9	10.7
Cantons and municipalities	17.0	16.9	17.7	16.5	16.3	16.4
Cantons	13.5	13.3	14.0	12.9	12.8	12.9
Municipalities	3.5	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.5
As % of total volume of expenditures						
Cantons	26.4	27.7	28.7	26.8	27.6	28.1
Municipalities	6.9	7.7	7.4	7.5	7.5	7.6

Source: Federation Ministry of Finance, Framework Budget Document for Period 2005-2007, July 2004, Appendix 1, Table 2

Consolidated Overview of Expenditures for the Republika of Srpska
(in % GDP)

Level/Year	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total expenditures	55.3	52.5	51.0	49.0	47.4	45.9
Government of RS	253	21.6	21.2	19.8	19.4	19.2
Municipalities		8.4	9.0	9.1	9.0	8.9
As % of total volume of expenditures						
Municipalities		16.0	17.7	18.6	19.0	19.4

Source: Ministry of Finance of the RS, Framework Budget Document for Period 2005-2007, August 2004, Tables 19 and 21.

It is obvious from the data presented above that there is clear impact of the asymmetric structure of the state authority on the Entity level in BiH, on the decentralized Federation of BiH and on the centralized Republika Srpska. It is evident that the municipalities in the Republika Srpska have twice as high levels of expenditures as a percentage of the Entity's GDP, compared to the municipalities in the Federation of BiH. At the same time, in the Federation of BiH, cantonal and municipal expenditures together are almost twice as high as percentage of the Entity's GDP, compared to the municipalities in the Republika Srpska.

If the expenditures of all municipalities in BiH are taken as a percentage of the country's GDP, the following results will be obtained:

The Expenditures of All Municipalities in BiH (In Millions Km)

Federation of BiH /Year	2002	2003	2004
Total expenditures of municipalities	280.1	306.3	321.6

Source: Ministry of Finance of F BiH, Framework Budget Document for Period 2005-2007, July 2004

Republika Srpska /Year	2002	2003	2004
Total expenditures of municipalities	232.6	298.3	344.1

Source: Ministry of Finance of RS, Framework Budget Document for Period 2005-2007, August 2004

Reference: GDP of BiH (in mil KM)	11,650	12,173	12,911
Municipal expenditures in BiH as % of GDP	4.4	5.0	5.2

It is evident that the public spending of municipalities as a percentage of the gross-domestic product of BiH ranged between 4.4% - 5.2% for the period 2002-2004, which is unacceptably low for this level of public spending.

Irrationality in approach and a very complicated system of the state authority structure in BiH have produced very pronounced vertical and horizontal

inconsistencies, as mentioned earlier. Still, it is evident that certain changes have taken place, showing an increasing respect to a more rational approach towards these issues and attempts to find economically optimal solutions. However, the following table shows the scope of these irrationalities and inadequate management of public funds in the BiH, both by different functions and the overall level of public spending.

Consolidated Government Spending at All Levels in Accordance with Functions (In % of GDP, 2001)

	BiH	FBiH	RS	CEE average	EU
General public services	2.5	1.9	3.4	2.1	2.1
Defense	4.4	4.7	3.5	1.9	2.1
Public order and safety	4.3	4.4	4.0	2.0	1.0
Education	6.0	7.0	3.3	3.3	2.9
Health	7.3	8.3	4.6	4.4	2.0
Social welfare	15.8	15.9	15.6	14.2	13.1
Housing and municipal services	0.8	0.9	0.5	1.1	0.7
Recreation, culture and religion	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.4
Fuel and energy	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2
Agriculture, forestry and fishery	0.6	0.4	1.2	1.1	0.9
Mining and mineral resources	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.3
Transport and communications	1.5	1.3	2.1	2.0	1.2
Other economic affairs and services	0.9	1.0	0.5	1.0	1.3
Other spending	2.3	2.1	2.1	4.0	7.9
TOTAL	47.2	48.7	41.5	37.9	35.6

Source: PRSP Strategy for BiH, Table 3

A better-designed mechanism of public spending at particular levels of authority will surely contribute to higher efficiency and improvement at each level in order to optimize its impact. Therefore, it is necessary to undertake urgent actions in the forthcoming period to improve the position of the local self-government units, the municipalities. According to the Law on Local Self-Government, they have been provided with a broad spectrum of responsibilities, which also “cover” numerous post-war problems (refugees, displaced persons, worn-out and/or destroyed infrastructure) they have to directly face on a daily basis more intensively than any other level of authority. Therefore, urgent changes are

required in order to improve their positions regarding the allocation of public financial resources in BiH.

Concluding Remarks

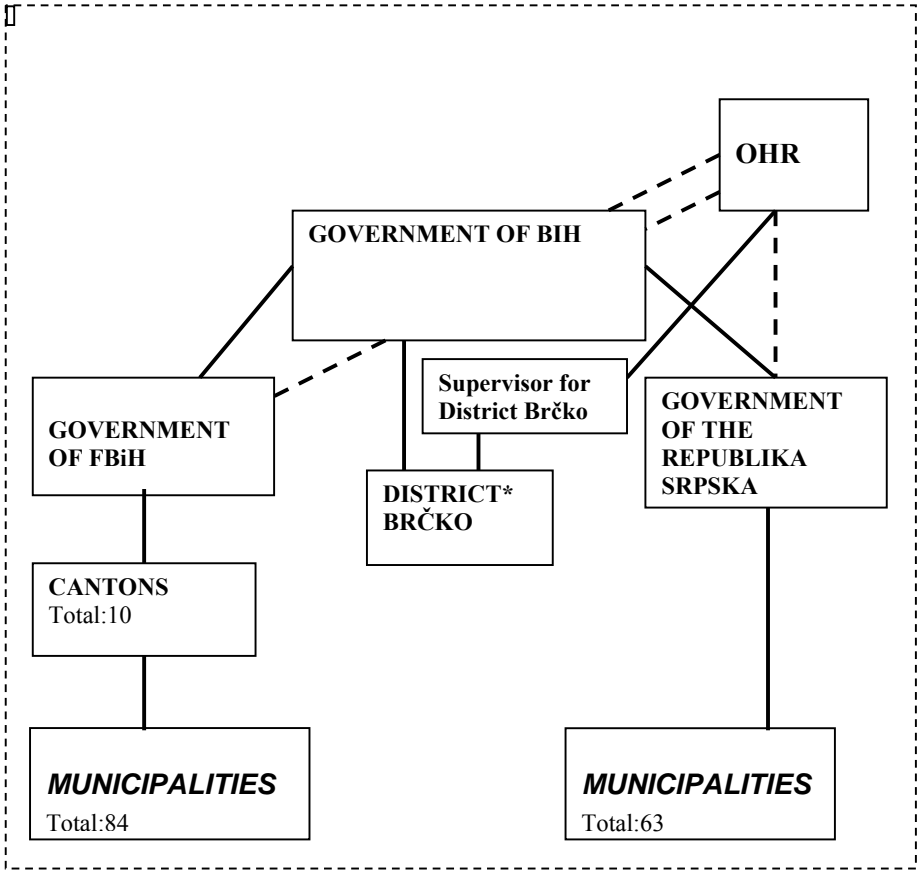
It is possible to implement the best practices from the more developed countries in BiH, being a federal country, with respect to the idea of efficiency achieved through decentralized public finance. The degrees of the decentralization and de-concentration of fiscal powers, which result in strongly pronounced imbalance of functions and funds available, both horizontally and vertically, compared with a possible distribution and better harmonized structure, and respecting the state structure and the current social and political factors, should be based on economic effects and their optimization.

The unusually complex state structure of BiH and dissonant options in tackling numerous issues, especially in the context of defining fiscal powers, have produced the inconsistency of the arrangements applied compared to the ones recognized worldwide. This is particularly reflected in the fact that lower levels of the state authority structure in BiH (the Entities, the cantons in the Federation of BiH) have higher powers than they would have in a better harmonized structure. This results in the slow integration of the single economic space in BiH, too high a level of public expenditure as percentage of the gross domestic product, inappropriate structure of public expenditures, slowed-down reforms towards the harmonization of the fiscal mechanism, the resulting competition between the Entities in many domains, especially in the area of taxation, the reduced capacity for revenue collection and the sub-optimal allocation of (public) resources.

However, in the post-war period in BiH, progress has been made in re-designing the fiscal system, especially thanks to the intensive assistance by the international community. The major changes have been achieved in the relation between the State of BiH and its Entities. Though this applies to the upper part of the hierarchy of the specified levels of the state authority structure, these changes are of a vital importance to the lower levels of authority as well. The creation of a single and harmonized regulatory framework for the fiscal mechanism at the level of the State of BiH and the Entities will provide more room to the lower levels of authority to optimize their impact. The level of the local self-government has been deprived of the necessary capacity to fulfill its expected role. In addition, the gravest post-war problems in the areas of social welfare, refugees and displaced persons in both Entities are present in municipalities whereby highly exceeding their resources and capacity to deal with these issues in an efficient manner. That is why it is necessary to make certain changes without delay towards an improvement in the position of municipalities with respect to the allocation of public financial resources in BiH.

APPENDIX

EXHIBIT 1



*) Decision by the High Representative to establish Brčko District was made on 8 March 2000, Official Gazette of BiH No. 13 of 13 March 2000, whereby the Supervisor, a non-BiH national, was also appointed.

REFERENCES

- Bird, R., Ebel, R., Wallich, C.I., 1995. *Decentralization of the Socialist State, Intergovernmental Finance in Transition Economies*, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Brummerhoff, D., 2000. *Javne financije*, MATE, Zagreb.
- Centralna banka Bosne i Hercegovine, Bilten br. 3, 2004. ABC Fabulas Sarajevo, available online at www.cbbih.ba
- Council of Europe, 1997. *Local finance in Europe*, Study series of the Steering Committee on Local and Regional Democracy (CDLR), No. 61, Council of Europe: Council of Europe publishing.
- Council of Europe, 1998. *Limitations of local taxation, financial equalisation and methods for calculating general grants*, Study series of the Steering Committee on Local and Regional Democracy (CDLR), No. 65, Council of Europe: Council of Europe publishing.
- Dedić, S., 1998. *Lokalna samouprava u Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine*, Univerzitetska knjiga, Sarajevo: Studentska štamparija univerziteta.
- Ebel, D. i Yilmaz, S., 2002. „On the Measurement and Impact of Fiscal Decentralization“, World Bank Institute, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Federacija BiH., 2004. Dokument okvirnog budžeta za 2005-07. godinu, Sarajevo: Federalno ministarstvo finansija
- Hermann, Z. (at al.), 1999. *Allocation of Local Government Functions: Criteria and Conditions – Analysis and Policy Proposals for Hungary*, Washington, D.C.: The Fiscal Decentralization Initiative for Central and Eastern Europe.
- Hogye, M., 2000. *Local and Regional Tax Administration in Transition Countries*, Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, Budapest. Open Society Institute.
- Kreso, S. (at al.), 1999. *Fiskalna decentralizacija u BiH*, Ekonomski fakultet Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Inicijativa za fiskalnu decentralizaciju za Centralnu i Istočnu Evropu, Sarajevo: Ekonomski fakultet Sarajevo.
- Kreso, S. (at al.), 1999. Forum on Fiscal Decentralization in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Conference Proceedings, Sarajevo, June 14-16, Washington, D.C.: The Fiscal Decentralization Initiative for Central and Eastern Europe.
- Kreso, S. (at al.), 2000. *Način i metod privatizacije javnih preduzeća komunalnih djelatnosti Kantona Sarajevo*, Institut Ekonomskog fakulteta Sarajevo, Sarajevo: Ekonomski fakultet Sarajevo.

- Litvack, J., Seddon, J., 1999. *Decentralization Briefing Notes*, World Bank Institute, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Mayor of Banja Luka, Izvještaj o radu Gradonačelnika od 01.01 do 31.12.2003.godine, Banja Luka 2003, available online at [http://www.banjaluka @ rs.ba](http://www.banjaluka.rs.ba)
- Miličević, N. (at al.), 1999. *Lokalna samouprava u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Ured za demokratizaciju OSCE. Sarajevo: OSCE.
- Musgrave, Richard i Peggy, 1993. *Javne financije u teoriji i praksi*, Zagreb: Institut za javne financije.
- Oates, W.E., 1999. "An Essay on Fiscal Federalism", *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol.XXXVII, No.3, 1120-1149.
- Odluka o uspostavi Komisije za indirektnu poresku politiku, Službeni glasnik BiH, br. 4, 2003. Sarajevo, Službeni list.
- Ott, K., Bajo, A., 2001. *Local Government Budgeting in Croatia*, Zagreb: Institut za javne financije.
- Republika Srpska., 2004. Dokument okvirnog budžeta za 2005-07. godinu, Banjaluka: Ministarstvo finansija RS.
- Rosen,H.S., 1999. *Javne finacije*, Zagreb: Institut za javne financije.
- Šmidovnik, J., 1999. *Lokalna samouprava*, Univerzitetska knjiga, Sarajevo: Studentska štamparija univerziteta.
- Ter-Minassian, T., 1997. *Fiscal Federalism in Theory and Practice*, Washington, D.C.: The International Monetary Fund.
- Tomljanović, D., 1990. *Finansijska teorija i politika*, Savremena administracija, Beograd.
- Trifković, M., Šabanović, I., (at al.) 2001. *Elaborat o statusu grada Sarajeva*, Institut Ekonomskog fakulteta Sarajevo, Sarajevo: Ekonomski fakultet Sarajevo.
- Ustav Bosne i Hercegovine, Aneks IV Općeg okvirnog sporazuma za miru u Bosni i Hercegovini, Priručnik za polaganje pravosudnog ispita, Zbirka propisa – Druga knjiga. Federalno ministarstvo pravde 2003. Sarajevo: Službeni list.
- Ustav Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine, Službene novine F BiH 1/94, 13/97, 16/02, 22/02, 52/02, 60/02, 18/03, 63/03, 20/04. Sarajevo: Službeni list.
- Ustav Republike Srpske, prečišćen tekst, Službeni glasnik RS 21/92 i 21/02. Banjaluka: Službeni glasnik Republike Srpske.
- Vijeće ministara BiH, 2004. Srednjoročna razvojna strategija BiH - PRSP (2004 – 2007), Sarajevo: Vijeće ministara BiH.

- Zakon o pripadnosti javnih prihoda u Federaciji BiH i finansiranju Federacije BiH, Službene novine F BiH 26/96, 32/98, 54/01, 37/03. Sarajevo, Službeni list.
- Zakon o carinskoj tarifi Bosne i Hercegovine, Službeni glasnik BiH 1/98, 5/98, 7/98, 31/02, 19/03. Sarajevo, Službeni list.
- Zakon o carinskoj politici Bosne i Hercegovine, Službeni glasnik BiH 21/98, 34/00, 10/02. Sarajevo, Službeni list.
- Zakon o osnovama lokalne samouprave, Službene novine F BiH 6/95. Sarajevo, Službeni list.
- Zakon o lokalnoj samoupravi, "Službeni glasnik RS", br. 35/99, 20/01, 51/01, 34/02. Banjaluka: Službeni glasnik Republike Srpske.
- Zakon o izvršenju budžeta institucija Bosne i Hercegovine i međunarodnih obaveza Bosne i Hercegovine, Službeni glasnik BiH 1/97, 7/98, 8/99, 10/00, 28/00, 9/01, 32/01, 14/02, 5/03, 34/03, 23/04. Sarajevo, Službeni list.
- Zakon o izvršavanju proračuna - budžeta Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine, Službene novine F BiH 9/96, 27/97, 20/98, 28/99, 13/00, 18/01, 61/01, 12/02, 33/02, 65/02, 21/03, 17/04. Sarajevo, Službeni list.
- Zakon o izvršenju budžeta Republike Srpske, Službeni glasnik RS 15/96, 8/97, 8/98, 17/99, 39/99, 18/01, 8/02, 3/03, 3/04. Banjaluka: Službeni glasnik Republike Srpske.
- Zakon o sistemu indirektnog oporezivanja u Bosni i Hercegovini, Službeni glasnik BiH, br. 44, 2003. Sarajevo, Službeni list.
- Zakon o porezu na promet roba i usluga, Službeni glasnik BiH, br. 62, 2004. Sarajevo, Službeni list.
- Zakon o akcizama u Bosni i Hercegovini, Službeni glasnik BiH, br. 62, 2004. Sarajevo, Službeni list.
- World Bank, 2002. *Bosnia and Herzegovina: From Aid Dependency to Fiscal Self-Reliance*, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit, Europe and Central Asia Region, Report No. 24297-BIH. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- World Bank, 2003. *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Creating an Efficient Decentralized Fiscal System*, available online at http://www.worldbank.ba/Publication_&Reports/Major_WB_Studies/Reports/Papers_on_Bosnia_and_Herzegovina/2003.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: AN ECONOMIC EVALUATION AND ITS RELATIONS WITH TURKEY

Aykan Candemir*

ABSTRACT

The main object of this paper is to present an evaluation of Bosnia and Herzegovina from economic and business conditions in the last 10 years and relations with Turkey. The current economic conditions in the country are a cruel outcome of the devastating 4-year long war. The end of the war brought about devastating figures, the economy suffered a huge setback. The post-war period has brought a significant improvement in the economic recovery and reconstruction.

Turkey attaches great importance to further developing its current economic and trade relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnia and Herzegovina offers a favourable climate for Turkish companies in the fields of infrastructure and contracting projects. The Free Trade Agreement is signed on 3 July 2002. After the Agreement's coming into force, all the custom duties applied on Turkish originated agricultural, food and industrial products will be reduced gradually in the following four years.

1. INTRODUCTION

Bosnia and Herzegovina was the poorest republic in the old Yugoslav Federation next to the Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). For the most part, agriculture has been in private hands, but farms have been small and inefficient, and food has traditionally been a net import for the republic. The centrally planned economy has resulted in some legacies in the economy. Overstaffed industry, reflected the rigidity of the planned economy. Under Josip Broz Tito, military industries were pushed in the republic; Bosnia hosted a large share of Yugoslavia's defence plants. Three years of interethnic strife (1992-1995) destroyed the economy and infrastructure in Bosnia, causing unemployment to soar and production to plummet by 80%, as well as causing the death of about 200,000 people and displacing half of the population. Bosnia has been facing a dual challenge: not only must the nation recover from the war, but it also must make the transition from socialism to capitalism (www.answers.com, 01.03.2005).

After the signing of the Washington Agreement on March 18, 1994, on March 30, 1994 the session of the Constituting Parliament of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was held in Sarajevo and the assembly included representatives elected in the 1990 elections for the Parliament of Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the territory of the Federation and that was when the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was enacted. The

* Res. Assistant, Ege University

constitution specifies that "Bosniaks and Croats as constitutive nations, together with the others, and citizens of Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, by exercising their sovereign rights, are changing the internal structure of territories with majority Bosniak and Croat population in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina into a Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which consists of federal units (cantons) with equal rights and responsibilities." The constituting Parliament ceased to exist in October 1996, just after the elections for the Parliament of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnia and Herzegovina consists of two entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska, in accordance with the Dayton Peace Accord (www.southeasteurope.org, 10.03.2005).

Since 1996, Bosnia and Herzegovina has seen a remarkable transformation of its devastated society and economy. In the post-war period, GDP grew at an annual average of 25 percent, the country's critical infrastructure was rebuilt, and modern political and economic institutions and processes were born. (www.worldbank.org, 03.03.2005). While political stability has been established, and significant improvements in public finance management have taken place within both entities, economic development has markedly decelerated from its peak following the Dayton Peace Accord in 1995. Real GDP growth in 2001 was only 4,5 percent due to an environment that continues to be unfavorable to the mobilization of domestic savings and local and foreign investment and declining foreign aid flows. Development has also been uneven across the two entities. While GDP growth in FBH exceeded 7 percent in the last two years, in Republika Srpska it fell from 2.6 percent in 2000 to only 1.9 percent in 2001 due, in part, to the Republika Srpska's resistance to integrate their economy more fully into the wider economic space of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 2001, for the first time since the war (1991-1995) and the establishment of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent state (March 1992), the Bosnian authorities at both the state and federal levels joined forces to produce an Economic Development Strategy (EDS) and an Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Program (I-PRSP). Preparation of these documents enabled the authorities to start broad consultations with non-governmental organizations, the media, other parts of civil society, as well as with bilateral donors and international agencies.

The Bosnian economy fared better in 2002 than had been previously expected. (Bank Of Austria), CEE-Report 2-2003,)

Despite decreased international financial assistance, a deteriorating world economy, a more restrictive fiscal policy and a continued slump in business investment, growth slowed only slightly as compared with 2001, to some 4%. On account of rising incomes and strong credit growth, agriculture and private consumption developed quite well, helping to support economic growth. Inflation remained low thanks to the stabilizing effect of the Currency Board pegging the convertible marka to the euro. Given the less favorable international economic climate, the tense foreign trade situation deteriorated further in 2002. Following

delays in the implementation of relief programs, the influx of capital was less than expected, causing foreign currency reserves to decline from their record levels at the end of 2001. Progress made toward structural reforms promise a brighter future. The business environment improved significantly, thanks to a new bankruptcy law in the Republika Srpska, new banking laws and a central state law on foreign direct investments, as well as the establishment of an investment development agency and the advanced stage of privatization among small businesses and banks.

Table 1. Bosnia and Herzegovina – Selected Indicators

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
<i>Change from previous year in %</i>						<i>forecast</i>
GDP	,6	5,6	,5	3,9	4,0	4,5
Industrial Output Federation	0,6	8,8	2,2	9,2	4,8	
Industrial Output Rep. Srpska	1,5	5,3	12,9	-2,5	5,7	
Consumer Prices (average) Federation	0,9	1,2	,7	-0,2	0,5	2
Consumer Prices (average) Rep. Srpska	5,1	13,6	,5	1,7	0,7	2
Budget Balance (in % of GDP)	9,1	-9,9	5,8	-4	-2,1	-0,3
<i>in EURO Million</i>						
Merchandise exports	64	1248	304	1072	1110	1220
Merchandise imports	883	4132	371	4171	3690	3570
Current Account	1437	-1374	1486	-1590	-1389	-1180
Gross foreign debt	959	3168	850	2880	2970	2960
Gross foreign debt (in % of GDP)	7,3	64,5	3,2	51,6	50,6	48,4
Net foreign reserves		432,85	10,6	1333,3	1231,6	
Average Exchange rate: BAM/EURO	,96	1,96	,96	1,96	1,96	1,96
Average Exchange rate: BAM/USD	,84	2,12	,19	2,07	1,81	1,7

Sources: Bank Austria Creditanstalt Economics Department, EBRD, IMF, www.cbbh.ba

2. Business and Economic Environment in Bosnia and Herzegovina

2.1. Investment

Foreign investors concerned about risks of transfer restrictions, expropriation, war and civil disturbances and denial of justice, can be insured against these risks with the European Union Investment Guarantee Trust Fund for Bosnia and Herzegovina, administered by the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA, member of the World Bank Group). The International Development Association (IDA, also a World Bank Group Member) and the Investment Guarantee Agency (IGA – domestic institution) provide guarantees against political risks for short and medium-term commercial transactions between Bosnia and Herzegovina enterprises and foreign companies, suppliers and banks. Bosnia and Herzegovina has signed Agreements on Promotion and Protection of Investments with following countries: Austria, China, Croatia, Czech Republic, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, The Netherlands, Hungary, Iran, Italy, Kuwait, Macedonia, Malaysia, Moldova, Qatar, Pakistan, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom, USA, Serbia and Montenegro and OPEC members (www.fipa.gov.ba, 07.03.2005).

The Company Law of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Law on Enterprises of Republika Srpska regulate founding, operation, and terminating of businesses in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Company Law of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina regulates the status of a legal person, which independently performs business activity in order to gain profit, and can be founded by domestic or foreign legal and natural persons. There are specific rules for each type of company: Unlimited Joint Liability Company is founded by a contract between minimum two persons. The contract determines the amount of founding capital. Limited Partnership can be established by minimum 1 limited partner and 1 general partner. The limited partner is liable with all his property. The contract defines the amount of the founding deposit and relations between partners. Joint Stock Company is liable for its obligations with all its property. There can be one or several founders of this type of company. The minimum amount of registered capital is KM (Convertible Mark) 50,000. Limited Liability Company is founded by contract or by a decision on founding. The minimum amount of registered capital is KM 2,000.

According to new preferential regime with the European Union, all goods from Bosnia and Herzegovina that meet EU technical-technological standards and conditions can be imported to all EU member countries until the end of 2005 without any quantitative restrictions and without paying customs and other similar duties. Wine and beef are the only exceptions from this general rule, and they are subject to specified quotas. In order to be covered by preferential regime, goods have to meet required criteria on origin and to be accompanied by proper certificates. Following countries have granted preferential status to Bosnia and

Herzegovina goods: USA, Canada, Japan, Russia, Switzerland and Norway (some countries limited imports of 'sensitive' goods by quotas or exempted them from preferential status).

2.2. Workforce

Total number of the employed people in Bosnia and Herzegovina is 623.819, of which 387.381 in the Federation and 236.438 in the Republica Srpska. The employment rate in 2003 was 55-60%, while the unemployment rate was 40-42%. The average net wage in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the first quarter of 2004 was € 252,57. In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina it is € 263,82, and in the Republica Srpska € 207,07. The average gross wage in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the same period was € 374, with € 388,07 in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and € 315 in the Republica Srpska. There are 435.941 persons employed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, or around 56% (www.fzs.ba, 10.03.2005).

2.3. Taxation

Tax administrations (Entity, cantonal and municipal ones) are in charge of tax collection in Bosnia and Herzegovina. By the end of 2003, the Bosnia and Herzegovina Indirect Taxation Authority was established that will collect future value added tax and coordinate fiscal policy issues in general. This body will also be responsible for collecting customs and excises in the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Single customs and tax administration will strengthen fiscal system and ensure full tax harmonization (<http://www.fmf.gov.ba>, 10.03.2005).

The basic taxation categories are:

- Corporate income tax
- Personal income tax
- Sales tax on goods and services
- Wage tax
- Property tax
- Social security contributions paid by employers and employees
- Excises, a special type of sales tax paid on some commodities like: oil products, tobacco products, soft drinks, alcohol drinks, beer, wine and coffee.

Value added tax is expected to be implemented and it will replace sales tax on goods and services. Value added tax is a comprehensive tax on consumption, assessed based on the value added to goods and services. This is a general tax that is applied to all commercial activities, including manufacturing and distribution of goods and providing of services. It is a consumer tax because it is not paid by the

company, but by the end user. It is assessed as a percentage of the cost of goods or services. The tax amount is visible in all stages, from manufacturing to distribution chain. When paying tax liability, the tax payer will reduce the value added tax by the tax amount he/she already paid to other tax payers at purchase. This ensures neutrality of taxation, regardless of the number of transactions involved. The corporate income tax in Bosnia and Herzegovina are as follows:

- Federation Bosnia and Herzegovina – 30%.
- Republika Srpska – 10%
- Brcko District – 10%

It is expected that these rates will be harmonized shortly. In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in case where foreign investment exceeds 20% of company equity (including 100% investment), the company is exempt from profit tax for the first five years, proportionally to foreign stakes in the total capital of company. There are no tax exemptions in Republika Srpska or in Brcko District. Investment capital is not subject to taxation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Profits transferred from abroad are not taxed if they were previously subject to taxation abroad. Profits are calculated in accordance with applicable laws, by deducting (real) expenses from revenues. The tax base includes profit gained through revenues and capital gains, according to the accounting regulations. The expenditures must conform to the accounting standards.

In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Republica Srpska, personal income tax is payable on following types of income:

- wage
- earnings from farming
- income from property and property rights
- income from copyrights, patents and technical inventions
- capital gains
- income from other activities.

In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, personal income tax is levied at cantonal level, while in the RS it is regulated at Entity level. Brcko District has its Law on Personal Income Tax that regulates this type of tax for the District. Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina – In the Federation Bosnia and Herzegovina wages are taxed 5% (tax base is gross wage) while other tax rates range from 10% to 15% (depending on the tax-base type, for example income from property and property rights, capital gains, etc.). Republica Srpska – In the Republika Srpska wage tax is 10% (tax base is net salary). Other tax rates for personal income tax are also 10% (for all types of the tax base).

2.4. Customs

Legal entities - companies registered in Bosnia and Herzegovina as entities involved in foreign trade operations have to pay membership fee to the Foreign Trade Chamber of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the amount of 2% of the base, which is the sum of gross wages paid to their employees. In case of legal entities – companies acting as importers, membership fee is 1% of the total imports value stated on customs declarations. Under the provisions of the Customs Policy Law, the following goods are exempt from custom duties: equipment being imported as a part of foreign investment, except for passenger cars, slot and gambling machines; equipment for military and police forces of the Entities financed entirely by donors; equipment for reconstruction projects in Bosnia and Herzegovina that have been approved by the Council of Ministers or respective Entity government and are fully financed by donors or by international community. In case where the equipment that makes a part of foreign investment is put into free circulation, with the exception of passenger cars, slot and gambling machines, only 1% of customs value is paid for the purpose of customs registration (www.cufbih.com, 10.03.2005).

The following items are also exempt from import duties: fixed assets, industrial inventory and equipment imported on the basis of transfer of business activities from abroad to Bosnia and Herzegovina, intermediate materials to be used for manufacturing of goods for export, advertising material, samples, catalogues, goods for charity and humanitarian agencies, etc. Incentives and exemptions from payment of custom duties when putting the goods in free circulation are determined and granted by the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Special permits from competent ministries are required for import of some goods that can be hazardous for human health or the environment. For example, in case of materials used for reproduction or health care in animals and plants, special permit has to be issued by the respective Entity Ministry of Agriculture, Water Management and Forestry. The Council of Ministers set uniform criteria for issuance of such permits. In case of narcotics, medicines, blood and blood fractions and similar pharmaceuticals, an approval of the respective Entity Ministry of Health and a permit of the Ministry of Trade are required.

For other goods that are classified under individual import or export regimes based on “D” license (precious metals in colloid condition, explosive ordinance, armaments, etc), the approval is issued by the competent ministry, while the permit is granted by the Ministry for Foreign Trade and Economic Relations. Import of used tires, cars older than 7 and heavy trucks and buses older than 10 years, is also restricted by law. Bosnia and Herzegovina has signed or ratified Free Trade Agreements with Albania, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, Macedonia, Turkey, Moldova, Romania and Bulgaria.

The Law on the Indirect Taxation Authority provides for full merging of the three existing customs administrations into one Indirect Taxation Authority. This Indirect Taxation Authority, after full VAT implementation, will be responsible for administration and collection of all customs, excises and VAT, i.e. of all indirect taxes.

There are free trade zones in Bosnia and Herzegovina and they are part of customs territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The free zone establishment is considered as economically justified if the submitted feasibility study and other accompanying evidence can prove that the value of goods exported from a free zone will exceed at least 50% of the total value of manufactured goods leaving the free zone within the period of 12 months. The users of free zone (domestic and foreign legal entities and natural persons) can rent land or facilities within the zone for an extended time period (maximum 30 years). Free zone users do not pay taxes and contributions, except taxes and contributions related to salaries and wages. Investments in the free zone, transfer of profit and transfer of the investment are free of charge. Customs and other tariffs are not paid for imports into the free zone, and there are no special tariffs for import of agricultural products, food and other products or raw materials for production and consumption within the free zone. Imports of equipment into the free zone that will be used in production are exempt from custom duties. No export customs duties are paid on exports from the free zone. There are five free zones in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Vogosca, Visoko, Hercegovina- Mostar, Kiseljak, and Banja Luka. Brcko District applies The Law on Custom Policy of Bosnia and Herzegovina and there are no specific exceptions to the State law.

2.5. Concessions

Concession implies the right to perform business activities using natural resources or goods intended for general use, and the right to perform activities of general interest, as provided for by the Bosnia and Herzegovina Law on Concessions. The Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina passes decisions on the type, subject and scope of the concession to be granted, subject to subsequent approval by the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Under the Law on Concessions, the following can be subject of concession (www.fipa.gov.ba, 10.03.2005):

1. operation, or construction and operation of:
 - roads and associated infrastructures;
 - railways, navigable canals and ports;
 - airports,
2. use of waterways and waters;

3. construction of power plants;
4. construction and/or exploitation of accumulated hydro-power potentials, except for electrical power transmission;
5. exploration and/or exploitation of energy and other mineral raw materials;
6. exploration and/or exploitation of crude oil and natural gas;
7. use of construction land;
8. use of forests and forest land;
9. hunting and fishing;
10. construction, use and management of pipeline transport of oil and gas and their storage in pipelines and terminals;
11. games of chance;
12. postal and telecommunication services, except for joint and international communications from Article III, point 1 (X) of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina;
13. passenger and freight railway transport;
14. public passenger line transport;
15. use of medicinal, thermal or mineral waters;
16. exploration and/or exploitation of non-metal mineral raw materials, including all secondary mineral raw materials specified by special law;
17. hydro-amelioration systems and systems for extraction of materials from waterways and waters areas;
18. formation and/or usage of riverbeds and banks and lakes;
19. utilization of agricultural soil;
20. sites and buildings belonging to natural and built heritage;
21. other activities and goods suitable for concessions.

2.6. Banking

Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina (CBBH) started its operations in 1997 (www.cbbh.ba, 09.03.2005). CBBH defines and controls the implementation of monetary policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. CBBH maintains monetary stability under the Currency Board arrangement (1 KM : 0,51129 EU), which

means that it issues domestic currency with full coverage in freely convertible foreign exchange at fixed exchange rate of 1 KM : 0,51129 EU. CBBH manages the official foreign exchange reserves created by issuance of domestic currency. CBBH supports and maintains relevant payment and accounting systems. It also coordinates the activities of the Entity Banking Agencies that are responsible for licensing and supervision of banks (www.cbbh.ba, 09.03.2005).

Banking sector is undergoing consolidation process. The number of domestic banks is decreasing year after year while the competition is increasing with foreign banks entering the market. According to the most recent data (Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2004) private capital in banking sector makes 92%, of which 72% in foreign ownership. By the end of March, there were 37 banks in Bosnia and Herzegovina (27 in the Federation and 10 in the Republica Srpska). The introduction of a deposit insurance agency and the presence of well-established international banks have strengthened the public's confidence in the banking sector (www.bertelsmann-transformation-index.de, 07.03.2005).

The Entity laws have been harmonized. Any decision on status change, mergers, holdings or splitting requires prior written approval by the respective Entity Banking Agency. The minimum equity and net capital to be maintained by the bank may not be less than 15 million KM. Same conditions apply to domestic and foreign investors. Under the applicable Banking Laws, banks may perform the following activities:

- Receive all sorts of monetary deposits and other monetary instruments;
- Give and take loans and financial leasing;
- Provide all forms of financial guarantees;
- Participate in, buy and sell financial and capital market instruments for their own or third person's interests
- Offer services involving payment operations and money transfers;
- Purchase and sell foreign currency;
- Issue and manage payment means (including credit cards, traveller and bank cheques);
- Store and manage securities and other valuables;
- Offer services of financial management;
- Buy and sell securities and
- perform other activities arising from the above ones.

The opening and operation of stock exchanges in Bosnia and Herzegovina are regulated by the Law on Securities of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Federation

and the Law on Securities of the Republica Srpska. Securities issued by an entity that has a seat outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina may be listed on a stock Exchange if they meet listing requirements prescribed for local securities listing (requirements specified by law, Commission's Regulations and Rules, as well as requirements determined by regulations applicable in the seat of the issuing entity).

The commercial banks in Bosnia and Herzegovina freely determine their interest rates based on capital demand and supply. Interest rates have been declining slowly for some time now, both in nominal and real values, as a result of stronger competition in the banking sector and of the presence of well capitalized foreign banks.

2.7. Privatization

A framework law on privatization of enterprises and banks in Bosnia and Herzegovina was adopted in July 1998. The law recognized the right of the Entity to privatize enterprises and banks located in its territory, that are not privately owned, and to take the proceeds of privatization in accordance with regulations adopted by respective Entity parliament. In the Bosnia and Herzegovina Federation, privatization process is conducted by the Bosnia and Herzegovina Federation Privatization Agency and by cantonal Privatization Agencies in accordance with the Law on Privatization of Enterprises, while in the Republika Srpska it is the responsibility of the Republica Srpska Privatization Directorate. State owned capital in the enterprises dealing with generation and distribution of electricity, railway traffic, telecommunications, water supply, mining, forestry, public media, games of chance, arms industry and military equipment, and in other enterprises of strategic importance, is privatized in accordance with this law, but under special Government privatization programs. The above mentioned laws are not applicable in case of natural resources, public goods, cultural and historical sites or monuments that are lent to enterprises for their use (www.apf.com.ba, 07.03.2005).

Privatization method is defined by the Program, provided that at least 55% of the state owned capital in enterprises is privatized. The provision from previous paragraph does not apply to strategic companies, or to those companies where the state owned capital indicated in the opening balance sheet is less than KM 300.000.

The objectives of privatization are (www.fipa.gov.ba, 11.03.2005):

- to contribute to economic reforms and to enable transition to market economy institutions and mechanisms,
- to recover lost markets and to ensure inclusion in international markets of capital and goods,
- to introduce western standards and norms into business operations,

- to introduce new technologies and modern organization of capital management,
- to ensure the public revenue and alleviate the burden on the budget,
- to facilitate foreign capital inflow for economic recovery,
- to boost competition and eliminate monopoly in goods and services market.

Bosnia and Herzegovina Federation, 1999-2003. In small-scale privatization (enterprises worth less than KM 500.000, employing up to 50 people, catering companies, trade companies, etc), 247 enterprises have been privatized (76,70%) and in the so-called large-scale privatization 285 enterprises have been privatized (69.34%). In cooperation with the International Advisory Group for Privatization (IAGP), 28 contracts on large-scale privatization were signed for the period from 2001 – December 2004. Out of that, 10 companies were sold in 2004 (Enker Tesanj, Intersped Sarajevo, Granit Jablanica, Holiday Inn Sarajevo, Bira Bihac, Velmos Mostar, Metalno Zanica, Feroelektro Sarajevo, Milcos Sarajevo, BNT Travnik).

In the Republica Srpska, since 1999 till June 2004, privatization process included (www.rsprivatizacija.com, 07.03.2005):

- 140 enterprises worth less than KM 300.000
- 272 enterprises worth more than KM 300.000
- 85 enterprises sold on stock exchange and
- 40 strategic enterprises.

In Brcko District of Bosnia and Herzegovina, privatization of state owned capital and property in enterprises is conducted in accordance with the Law on Enterprise Privatization in Brcko District of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Before the Law was adopted, privatization process was instituted under the Order issued by the Brcko District Supervisor on September 19, 2001, establishing Privatization Office within Brcko District Government. Privatization process is run by the Brcko District Privatization Office.

A special privatization model was designed for Brcko District and its implementation lagged behind privatization in the Entities. Brcko District is a relatively small territory. Local enterprises where majority capital is state owned make up the list of companies to be privatized. This model implies the sale of 67% of enterprise capital to the majority owner, while the remaining 33% go to the so-called Markovic's shareholders and voucher holders. This model prefers offers involving large investments, more jobs, higher gross wages, realistic and acceptable business plans and, finally, better price. The best bidder is selected based on these criteria and evaluation methods. Through privatization process, state

ownership is being transformed in private ownership, and state owned company is being registered as a joint stock company. New joint stock companies have all standard qualities of such companies existing in developed countries and they are listed at securities markets where they can trade in all types of shares.

2.8. Foreign Direct Investment

According to the data provided by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Relations of Bosnia and Herzegovina, foreign direct investment (FDI) in the first half of 2004 amounted to 821,1 million KM in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was the largest FDI inflow in one semester since this kind of statistics have been kept (May 1994). Compared with the first half of 2003, registered foreign investments in the same period of 2004 were 3,3 times larger. This amount includes the investment made by «Uždaraji Akcione Bendrove» from Lithuania in Biraè Alumina Factory (in the amount of 465,6 million KM), which reflects the registration of the book value of acquired company assets, and not the real investment amount of 6 million KM, with the obligation of investing additional 11 million KM over the next 3-5 years. In spite of that, and even if this investment is not accounted for, FDI in the first half of 2000 reached the record amount and was larger than total FDI in 2003 (www.fipa.gov.ba, 09.03.2005).

Table 2. Foreign direct investment (FDI) in Bosnia and Herzegovina

(1994. – June 30, 2004.)

Year Total, million EUR

1999	165.9
2000	158.5
2001	140.1
2002	308.9
2003	169.1
2004 (June 30)	419.8

Source: Ministry for Foreign Trade and Economic Relations of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2004)

It is expected that this growing trend of FDI in Bosnia and Herzegovina will be maintained in the second half of 2004, which is confirmed by recent

investment LNM Holding made in BH Steel Zenica in the amount of 80 million US dollars, with total investment expected to reach around 450 million US dollars.

Table 3. FDI break-down by investor countries

Lithuania	252.1
Croatia	228.5
Austria	191.1
Slovenia	148.0
Kuweit	112.5
Germany	104.9
Serbia and Montenegro	79.1
Holland	58.5
Italy	47.7
Šwitzerland	43.5

Source: Ministry for Foreign Trade and Economic Relations of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2004)

Table 4. Sectors that received most FDI in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Manufacturing	77%
Banking	13%
Tourism	6%
Trade	3%
Other	1%

Source: Ministry for Foreign Trade and Economic Relations of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2004)

Table 5. Top ten foreign investors in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Foreign company	Country	Sector
Uždaraji Akcione Bendrove	Lithuania	Non-ferrous metalurgy
KCIC	Kuweit	Metal industry
Hypo Alpe Bank	Austria	Banking
Zagrebačka bank/Unicredito/Transmadrid	Croatia/Spain/Italy	Banking
Croatian telecommunications	Slovenia	Trade
Heidelberg Zement	Germany	Construction materials
Dubai I.B., A.I.B. and Islamic Development Bank	UAE and Saudi Arabia	Banking
Alpha Baumanergement	Austria	Tourism
Coca-Cola Holland	Food Processing	Industry
Finvest Corporation	Croatia	Woodprocessing industry

Source: Ministry for Foreign Trade and Economic Relations of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2004)

2.9. Foreign trade structure (Export/Import) of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Major trade partners, in terms of exports from Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 2003.: Croatia (18%), Serbia and Montenegro (17%), Germany (15%), Italy (13%), Slovenia (10%), Switzerland (9%), Austria (4%), France (1%) Major trade partners, in terms of imports into Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 2003.: Croatia (18%), Germany (13%), Italy (10%), Slovenia (10%), Serbia and Montenegro (8%), Hungary (6%), Austria (4%), France (2%) (www.cufbih.com, 10.03.2005)

Table 6. Imports by commodities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2003):

Machinery and mechanical equipment	17.41%
Food	13.55%
Mineral based products	10.87%
Chemical products	10.09%
Herbs and Plants	7.88%
Basic metals	7.26%
Transport equipment	7.21%
Plastics and rubber	4.60%
Pulp, paper and paper products	3.78%
Textile and products	3.44%
Other	13.91%

Source: EUROSTAT, Customs Administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Table 7. Exports by commodities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2003):

Basic metals	27.07%
Machinery and mechanical equipment	14.66%
Wood and wood products	14.64%
Mineral based products	9.68%
Textile and textile products	5.45%
Various goods	5.14%
Shoes	3.89%
Food	3.32%
Cellulose, paper and paper products	2.80%
Leather	2.72%
Other	10.63%

Source: EUROSTAT, Customs Administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina

2.10. Projections for the Future

During 2005-07 there will be major changes in government fiscal operations following the introduction of Free Trade Areas (FTAs), the establishment of Indirect Taxation Administration (ITA) and the transfer of additional functions to the State. Some of these changes make it difficult to project future levels of revenues and their distribution. For this reason the 2005 BFP (Budget Framework Paper) projections have been based on more conservative macroeconomic and fiscal assumptions than last year. Public revenues fell as a share of GDP fell from 49.8% in 2000 to 46.6% in 2003 and are projected to fall further to 43.6% by 2007. This reflects the Government's policy of reducing the very high levels of taxation in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. One consequence is that there will be limited additional resources available to finance public programmes (www.fmf.gov.ba, 10.03.2005).

The impact of the FTAs on customs revenues has been considerable with revenues falling by close to 17% during the first half of 2004 and projected to fall further in 2005. This has had a serious impact on the federal budget, that will necessitate a substantial cut-back in discretionary spending on public programmes during 2004. Falling customs of revenues have also had an impact on the distribution of public resources with federal revenues growing more slowly than sub-entity revenues. Under the present current revenue assignment arrangements federal revenues as a share of total budgetary revenues would fall from 43% in 2002 to 34% in 2007. At the same time the federal government will be taken on additional expenditure responsibilities for higher education and for social protection. In order to cover these demands some reassignment of sales tax/VAT revenues will be required during 2005-07. This has been reflected in the BFP projections.

Moving towards EU accession requires the implementation of fiscal reforms aimed at achieving greater harmonisation of fiscal policies and administration. Substantial progress has already been made towards harmonising the tax regimes of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republica Srpska. Significant improvements in tax administration and taxpayer compliance are also expected to be achieved. VAT will be introduced from January 2006 replacing the current sales tax regime. VAT will provide for a fairer trade taxation regime. Evidence from elsewhere in the region suggests that it can contribute to improved tax compliance and increased revenues. It also offers opportunities for achieving a more appropriate distribution of revenues that is better matched to the expenditure responsibilities. Further analysis of these issues will be required as the arrangements for the introduction of VAT are finalised. It is expected that these will provide for single VAT rate of around 17% with limited exemptions. The BFP projections assume that in 2006 the introduction of VAT will have no impact on revenues, while in 2007 a 3% increase over trend has been projected. High rates of labour taxation, mainly as Social Fund contributions, considerably increase business costs in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and also encourage tax

evasion. The Government is committed to reducing labour taxation over the long-term. As an initial step the rate of Employment Fund contributions will be reduced from 2.5% to 1.5% from the beginning of 2005.

Total public expenditure is projected to increase by 4.4% annually from KM 4,307 million in 2004 to KM 4,900 million in 2007. As a share of GDP, it will fall from 48.8% of GDP to 45.8% of GDP. Budgetary spending by the federal and sub-entity governments is projected to fall from 28.6% to 27.1% of GDP over the same period. The budget deficit will remain at around 2.2% of GDP. Federal discretionary spending on public services, public infrastructure and entitlement programmes shows a fall in nominal terms of 11.7% in 2004 and to show little increase over the following three years. Even allowing for savings arising from recent defence cutbacks, spending on other federal programmes will continue to be tightly constrained. Levels of external concessional financing will continue to fall, although successful launch of the MTDS (Mid-Term Development Strategy) and Public Investment Programme (PIP) is expected to give rise to some additional financing for public investment projects. Budgetary support is projected to fall from KM 108 million in 2004 to KM 50 million in 2007.

External debt servicing is projected to remain at sustainable levels of around 2% of GDP during 2005-07. A strategy for resolving outstanding domestic claims on government has recently been approved. Implementation of this strategy will involve cash settlements totalling around KM 324 million spread over the 2004-07 period to be covered by the drawdown of funds from privatisation receipts and succession funds. Public investment spending has fallen following completion of the Priority Reconstruction Programme (PRP) and is now close to levels elsewhere in the region. The immediate challenge will be to sustain levels of investment spending as external financing is further cut back. This will require significant increases in financing from domestic budgetary sources. At the same time procedures for identifying, planning, appraising and managing public investment will have to be strengthened.

Operational subsidies to commercial enterprises currently amount to around 1% of all budgetary spending. No increase over this level of funding is projected during 2005-07. The emphasis of government policy towards these enterprise sectors will continue to be on ensuring a more favourable and predictable business environment. Compared to countries in the region, Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina tends to spend substantially more of its resources on general government services, defence, public order, education and health. While spending on social welfare and protection is comparable with regional norms, only a small proportion is currently allocated towards poverty related benefit programmes. Spending on the economic infrastructure and services sectors has declined sharply following completion of the PRP.

The work undertaken for the 2005 MTEF (Medium-Term Expenditure Framework) has highlighted the often weak analytical basis against which public

resource allocation decisions are made. Over the medium-term capacities for programme planning and costing will have to be substantially enhanced. At the same time expenditure decisions must be taken consistent with the broader resource constraints on budgets. For example, there remains a tendency for important spending decisions to be taken outside of the wider strategic framework provided by the MTDS and BFP, with the risk such decisions divert scarce resource from other higher priority programmes.

This highlights the urgent need for providing both public officials and politicians with better information on the budget process and constraints. The BFP initiative represents one step in this process. Better coordination between federal and sub-entity governments is also required and has begun to be achieved through regular meetings between the federal and canton finance ministers. During 2005-07 the federal Ministry of Finance will introduce further initiatives to strengthen expenditure planning at both federal and cantonal

3. Turkey's Relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina

Due to deep historical bonds, Bosnia and Herzegovina has always been one of those countries which enjoys a particular place for Turkey. Turkey attaches great importance to further developing its current economic and trade relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina. For this purpose Turkey has pledged 80 million dollars of financial support for the reconstruction programme of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was in addition to the provision of 32 million dollars of bilateral and humanitarian assistance. Furthermore, taking into account Bosnia and Herzegovina's social needs and expectations, Turkey decided to use 4 million dollars out of our 20 million dollars grant for the construction of a maternity and paediatric health centre in Kosevo hospital. The present level between Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina bilateral trade is in no way commensurate with the existing potential. In 2003 Turkey's exports to Bosnia and Herzegovina totalled 63 million dollars, whereas Bosnia and Herzegovina's exports to Turkey reached 8 million dollars (www.mfa.gov.tr, 04.03.2005).

Bosnia and Herzegovina offers a favourable climate for Turkish companies in the fields of infrastructure and contracting projects. In addition, wood processing, mining, metallurgy and food industry are also attractive sectors for cooperation. The Free Trade Agreement is signed on 3 July 2002. After the Agreement's coming into force, all the custom duties applied on Turkish originated agricultural, food and industrial products will be reduced gradually in the following four years. 285 medium and small sized Turkish companies are registered in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is assumed that 50-60 companies are active in the country that has made a total of 15 million USD investment in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There are 8 Bosnian companies with a total capital of 6,2 billion TL in Turkey by June 2004. Turkish companies are interested in all superstructure and infrastructure projects in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Investments by Turkish companies

in Bosnia-Herzegovina have been increasing rapidly. Currently, there is twenty million U.S. dollars of Turkish investments in trade, services and food sectors in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Sixty-five million U.S. dollars investment will be made in forestry and paper sectors and five million U.S. dollars investment in medicine sector (www.turkishpress.com, 12.03.2005).

The number of Bosnian tourists visiting Turkey is 34.636 in 2003. The share of Bosnian tourists in total number of foreigners arriving in Turkey is 0,25% in 2003. There is a business council between Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina (www.deik.org.tr, 06.03.2005). Counterpart Organization in Bosnia and Herzegovina is Foreign Trade Chamber of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Chairman of Counterpart Chapter is Milan Lovric who is the President of Foreign Trade Chamber of Bosnia and Chairman of Turkish Chapter is Prof.Dr.Çelik Kurtoğlu who is a Board Member of DEIK (Foreign Economic Relations Board). Last Executed Activities are:

- Turkish-Bosnian Business Council Meeting on the occasion of Turkish Prime Minister's Official Visit to Bosnia Herzegovina, 16 February 2005, Sarajevo
- Turkish-Bosnian Joint Business Council Meeting, 29-30 April 2004, Sarajevo
- Visit of Turkish-Bosnian Business Council Chairman Sabri Oran to Bosnia Herzegovina, 19-21 March 2003, Sarajevo
- Turkish-Bosnian Business Council Board visit to the Ambassador of Bosnia Herzegovina, 19 February 2003, Ankara
- Working Luncheon with Bosnia and Herzegovina Presidency Council, 4 July 2002, Istanbul
- Working Luncheon with Bosnia and Herzegovina Prime Minister, 11 February 2002, Istanbul.

A credit of 60 million USD by Turkish Eximbank is offered and 21 application were received with a total amount of 28 million USD. However a few projects were approved due to technical insufficiency of the projects and many of them were aiming to establish firms for foreign trade.

Free Trade Agreement Between The Republic of Turkey And Bosnia and Herzegovina

Considering the importance of the links existing between The Republic of Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina, their desire to strengthen those links and to further extend the relations established previously; Taking into consideration the Agreement Establishing an Association between Turkey and the European Economic Community and the Stabilisation and Association Process offering the

prospect of integration into European structures for Bosnia and Herzegovina (www.dtm.gov.tr, 10.03.2005); Convinced that this Agreement will create a new climate for economic relations between the Parties and above all for the development of trade and investment; done at Ankara on July 3, 2002 and resolved to eliminate progressively the obstacles to substantially all their mutual trade, in accordance with the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade 1994 ("GATT 1994") and the Agreement establishing the World Trade Organisation ("WTO"), Bosnia and Herzegovina having objective to become a member of the WTO;

The objectives of this Agreement are:

- a. to promote through the expansion of mutual trade the harmonious development of economic relations between the Parties and thus to foster in the Parties the advance of economic activity, the improvement of living and employment conditions, and financial stability;
- b. to provide fair conditions of competition for trade between the Parties;
- c. to contribute by the removal of barriers to trade, to the harmonious development and expansion of world trade.

Customs duties on imports, charges having equivalent effect and import duties of a fiscal nature applicable in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the date of entry into force of this Agreement to products originating in the Republic of Turkey shall be progressively reduced in accordance with the following timetable:

- on 1 January 2003 to 65% of their value;
- on 1 January 2004 to 50% of their value;
- on 1 January 2005 to 35% of their value;
- on 1 January 2006 to 15% of their value;
- on 1 January 2007 the remaining duties shall be abolished.

Table 8. Turkey-Bosnia and Herzegovina Foreign Trade ('000 USD)

YEARS	EXPORT	IMPORT	BALANCE	VOLUME
1992	20.703	882	19.821	21.585
1993	37.757	1.768	35.989	39.525
1994	1.143	293	850	1.436
1995	7.836	127	7.709	7.963
1996	22.466	2.481	19.985	24.947
1997	31.871	1.296	30.575	33.167
1998	38.060	5.296	32.764	43.356
1999	39.892	16.222	23.670	56.114
2000	26.871	7.497	19.374	34.368
2001	27.586	4.926	22.660	32.512
2002	43.264	6.317	36.947	49.581
2003	63.105	8.316	54.789	71.421
2004	99.793	11.416	88.377	111.209

Source: State Institute of Statistics (www.die.gov.tr)

Table 9. Major Trade Items Between Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina (‘000 USD, As of July 2004)

EXPORT			IMPORT		
ITEM	VALUE	SHARE (%)	ITEM	VALUE	SHARE (%)
Boilers, machinery	5.248	10,4	Raw hides and skins	2.542	36,5
Vehicles other than railways and parts	4.958	9,8	Optical instruments	1.047	15,1
Electrical machinery and equipment	3.237	6,4	Boilers and machinery	886	12,7
Carpets	2.979	5,9	Organic chemicals	803	11,5
Plastics and articles	2.402	4,8	Iron and steel	550	7,9
Articles of iron or steel	2.353	4,7	Wood and articles	421	6,1
Apparel and clothing accessories, knitted or crocheted	2.338	4,6	Wool	223	3,2
Paper and paperboard	1.992	4,0	Inorganic chemicals	119	1,7
Edible vegetables	1.954	3,9	Electrical machinery and equipment	116	1,7
Iron and steel	1.672	3,3	Articles of iron or steel	56	0,8
Other	21.343	42,3	Other	193	2,8
TOTAL	50.476	100	TOTAL	6.956	100

Source: State Institute of Statistics (www.die.gov.tr)

4. Conclusions

Bosnia and Herzegovina needs to address the high current account deficit with disciplined fiscal policies and accelerated structural reform. These policies should be especially geared to facilitating the transformation of corporations into market-oriented competitive firms and at improving the business climate to attract more foreign investors. Poverty remains a serious problem. Unemployment remains one of the key challenges in postwar BiH. Further labor market reforms, along with the introduction of active labor market programs, are still required.

Economic integration of Federation of Bosnia And Herzegovina and Republika Srpska is a prerequisite for association with the European Union. More effective integration will also enable the Republika Srpska to keep pace with Federation of Bosnia And Herzegovina and the countries of southeast Europe. To foster private sector-led growth, several reforms are needed. These include faster registration of businesses, an improved inspection system, changes to the bankruptcy and liquidation laws, and further privatization of strategic enterprises. A key prerequisite for many of the reforms is adoption and implementation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Program program.

REFERENCES

- Bank Austria Creditanstalt, (2003) CEE-Report 2-2003, Vienna, Austria.
- Bugajski Janusz, (1999), Facing The Future: The Balkans To The Year 2010, Center For Strategic And International Studies Washington D.C., Usa.
- Central Bank Of Bosnia And Herzegovina, (2004), Bulletin 3 September 2004, Sarajevo, Bosnia And Herzegovina.
- Central Bank Of Bosnia And Herzegovina, (2003), Annual Report, Sarajevo, Bosnia And Herzegovina.
- Federation of Bosnia And Herzegovina Federal Ministry Of Finance, (2004), Bosnia And Herzegovina Draft 2005 Budget
- Framework Paper (Medium-Term Expenditure Framework 2005-07), Sarajevo, Bosnia And Herzegovina.
- Federation of Bosnia And Herzegovina Federal Ministry Of Finance, (2003), Bosnia And Herzegovina Draft 2004 Budget
- Framework Paper (Medium-Term Expenditure Framework 2005-07), Sarajevo, Bosnia And Herzegovina.
- Feyza Paker, (2002), Bosna-Hersek ve Türkiye – Bosna-Hersek Dış Ticareti, İzmir Ticaret Odası, İzmir, Turkey
- The International Bank For Reconstruction And Development / The World Bank, (2005) Doing Business In 2005, , Washington, D.C., USA
- William Fox, Christine Wallich,(1997), Fiscal Federalism In Bosnia-Herzegovina, The Dayton Challenge, The World Bank Europe And Central Asia Central Europe Department, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- World Bank, (2003) Reconstruction And Development Program In Bosnia And Herzegovina Progress Update, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- www.answers.com
- www.apf.com.ba
- www.bertelsmann-transformation-index.de
- www.cbbh.ba
- www.coe.int
- www.cufbih.com
- www.dei.gov.ba
- www.dtm.gov.tr
- www.fipa.gov.ba
- www.igabih.com
- www.deik.org.tr
- www.delbih.cec.eu.int
- www.dfid.gov.uk

www.die.gov.tr
www.dtm.gov..tr
www.ebrd.com
www.eupm.org/
www.eurostat.org
www.fipa.gov.ba
www.fmf.gov.ba
www.fzs.ba
www.gtz.de/
www.ifc.org/seed/
www.ihracatdunyasi.com
www.imf.org/
www.izto.org.tr
www.kfbih.com
www.komorabih.com
www.mac.doc.gov/ceebic/
www.mfa.gov.tr
www.miga.org/
www.mvp.gov.ba
www.mvteo.gov.ba
www.pkrs.inecco.net
www.predsjednistvobih.ba
www.rsprivatizacija.com
www.southeasteurope.org
www.turkishpress.com
www.un.org
www.unctad.org
www.undp.ba/onevs.asp
www.unhcr.ba/
www.unmibh.org
www.usaid.ba
www.worldbank.ba
www.worldbank.org

YAHYA KEMAL BEYATLI'S BALKAN IMPRESSIONS

Recep Duymaz*

Yahya Kemal, who is one of the prominent personalities of Turkish literature in the twentieth century, was born in Skopje and spent his childhood and teenage years there. The historical events and memories he listened to since his childhood from his mother and from both his close and distant relatives who lived in Leskofca, Ivrranya, Nis, Skopje, Thessaloniki and some other Balkan cities contributed to the formation of his personality. Then the higher education he received in France certainly enriched these national and local values with the advantages of the modern times. His memoirs present data that can help us to understand him better and the Ottoman geography during his childhood and teenage years.

Memoirs is a literary genre produced by people who have experienced things that are worth narrating to other people and who have words worth telling other people. It is evident that these memoirs should be true and helpful for the readership. Yahya Kemal, like in writing his poetry, was meticulous and careful about writing his memoirs and getting them published. It is clear that memoirs that fulfill this requirement enrich and mature both those who experience them and readers who read them. He stresses this idea in one of his poems:

“Kâmindir o insan ki yaşar hâtıralarla”.**

Additionally, the memoirs of some people are significant in terms of the position they hold, the geography or the period in which they live. Yahya Kemal is one of them. He spent his childhood and teenage years in the lands and in a period when the Otoman Empire started to withdraw from the lands that were governed for centuries. In Yahya Kemal's memoirs lay the secrets of Turks making the Balkans their homeland and their withdrawal from these lands after staying there for centuries.

First Impressions

Yahya Kemal is a personality who became prominent, above all, as a poet in the history of Turkish literature. His books entitled *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz* (1961) [Our Own Sky], *Eski Şiirin Rüzgârıyla* (1962)[With the Wind of Old Poetry], *Rubailer ve Hayyam Rubailerini Türkçe Söyleyiş* (1963) [Rubais and Composing Hayyam's Rubais in Turkish] and *Bitmemiş Şiirler* (1976)[Uncompleted Poems] are texts that convey the form and content our classical poetry to the modern times.

* Assoc. Prof. Dr., Trakya University

** The person who lives with memories is matur.

Besides his books of poetry, he published books of prose such as *Aziz İstanbul* (1964) [Dear İstanbul], *Eğil Dağlar* (1966) [Bend, the Mountains], *Siyasî Hikâyeler* (1968) [Political Stories], *Siyasî ve Edebî Portreler* (1968) [Political and Literary Portraits] *Edebiyata Dair* (1971) [On Literature], *Çocukluğum, Gençliğim, Siyasî ve Edebî Hatıralarım* (1973) [My Childhood, My Youth, My Political and Literary Memories] and *Tarih Musahabeleri* (1975) [History Conversations].

Yahya Kemal, in his book entitled *Çocukluğum, Gençliğim, Siyasî ve Edebî Hatıralarım* [My Childhood, My Youth, My Political and Literary Memories] presents his memories in four parts:

- 1) My Childhood, My Youth, pp. 1- 89,
- 2) Literary Memories, pp. 93 -118,
- 3) Political Memories, pp. 121 - 176,
- 4) About Young Turks, pp. 179 - 213.¹

We will study briefly his memories by foregrounding the family environment in which he was born and grew up and the cities in which he received primary and secondary education.

His family

Yahya Kemal, in the beginning of the first part of his memories which is entitled “My childhood, my youth”, states that he was born on December 2, 1884 in İshakiye Neighborhood of Skopje in the house of his grandmother Âdile Hanım, and then he narrates about his mother Nakiye Hanım, the nurse of his mother Fatma Hanım, their family friend Deli Ahmet, male servant Hüseyin and his nurse Zeynep.

Nakiye Hanım, his mother, is the eldest daughter of Dilâver Bey of Leskofça and Âdile Hanım of İvranya. The writer records in his later years when he started to write his memories the fact that he does not remember her “face”, the fact that he did not have a picture of her, and that she disappeared without leaving a picture since she lived in an environment where the Islamic veil was observed “most strictly” as the first grief of his memories.

Nakiye Hanım is a very meticulous and clean lady, cleanliness is like “an obsession”. This lady who washes her hands and face besides washing herself for prayers five times a day, feels sorrow because of Yahya Kemal and his brother Reşat’s dirtiness after school or playing in the street and she does not feel satisfied

¹ Yahya Kemal’s memoirs were published in two books: Nihat Sami Banarlı, Yahya Kemal’in Hatıraları, [Yahya Kemal’s Memoirs]

İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti Yahya Kemal Enstitüsü Neşriyatı: 2, İstanbul 1960, 224 pages.; Yahya Kemal, Çocukluğum, Gençliğim, Siyasî ve Edebî Hatıralarım, [My Childhood, My Youth, My Political and Literary Memories] Yahya Kemal Enstitüsü Neşriyatı, İstanbul 1973, 286 s. Besides, when he was alive, his close friends wrote many texts with their memories about him.

until she cleans them. Nakiye Hanım is a clean and profound lady, not only physically but also spiritually:

“... My mother was a great influence on my religious and national education. My mother was a true Muslim. She used to read *Muhammediye*, and teach me the Qur'an”².

Yahya Kemal states that his mother usually read Yazıcıoğlu Mehmet Efendi's (?–1459) *Muhammediye* after the morning prayer and he felt he saw her mother “bending to the book in her hands in her white veil with faith” even in the later years of his life. The lines which are in the book and can be read with a special rhythm :

Eğer Rûm'un revânındâ görürsem ben dilârâyı*

Revânîna revân îdem Semerkand û Buhârâ'yı

Not only take her to different cities or countries in geography, but also “to another world, probably to the other world” and this text gives him the secret of the flow in history of our self adventure, of our neighborhood, of Skopje, of the Balkans, even of all the nation from the East to the West, from Anatolia to the Balkans. At that age, he starts to feel that Yazıcıoğlu Efendi's book combines “the Turkish world and Islam” in his conscience.

He states that his mother wanted him to love two people in the world. The first one is the Prophet Muhammad, and the second one is Sultan Murat. According to his mother, the names and services of Murat I, who conquered the Balkans and Murat II (1404-1451), who consolidated the Ottoman rule in the Balkans, are combined in the name Murat. Later in his life, Yahya Kemal observes that this combination has been true for the people living in all cities in the Balkans, especially in Skopje. Likewise the people of Skopje refers to Murat II, who had built a mosque on the hill in the center of the city with one name, as Murat Hudavendigâr combining it with Murat I.

The most vivid memories from his childhood years in Skopje where he spent his childhood are the calls for prayers: “As a child, I grew up listening to the calls for prayers from the minarets of Skopje and feeling them inside me. When the call for prayers started in the minarets there was a spiritual silence in our house”. I

2 Nihat Sami Banarlı, a., g., e., s. 24. *Muhammediye* is a verse work written by Yazıcıoğlu Mehmet in Gelibolu in 1449. Based on his statement, he wrote a book in Arabick entitled *Megâribü'z- Zaman* (The Sunsets of Time) by “finding all commentaries available, taking their essence one by one and revising the sayings of Prophet Muhammad”, then he composed *Muhammediye* by translating it into Turkish through verse. The work narrates the creation of the world, the prophets, the lives of Prophet Muhammad and four caliphs, doomsday, apocalypse, paradise, hell, through the Qur'an and the prophet Muhammad's sayings and a true Muslim style of life and world view is presented. This work, second to Süleyman Çelebi's (? – 1422) *Mevlit* (1409), is the most well read work for centuries by the Turks in the Balkans, Anatolia, Caucasia and the Central Asia. *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*, [Encyclopedia of Turkish Language and Literature] v. 6, Dergâh Yayınları, İstanbul 1986, p. 420.

* If I see my beloved in the heart of the Roud, I can forgive Semerkand and Buhara for her walk.

used to feel that this silence left the houses, and spread to the streets, shops and to the whole city. He feels that the sound of the call for prayers is a combination of our religion and national music. He hears this mysterious call for prayers echoing in the sky in Skopje in his childhood years far away from this city and from the Balkans when he lived in Paris, another center of culture and civilization during his youth and he had a strange nostalgia that is full of sorrow: “Even when I was in Paris, there were moments when I felt I heard the sound of the call for prayers in Skopje, even though it is not related, it was reflected in my ears as memories, and made me feel nostalgia”.

According to him, Skopje is the city where “Turkishness condense” in the Balkans. So much so that “the spirit of our nationality” is shaped there under each stone. This forming spirit is transferred to those who lived there in that period and united the Balkans and Anatolia. In the poem entitled “Kaybolan Şehir” [The Lost City], which he wrote later in his life, he states with yearning that he will continue to keep the memories of the Balkan cities, symbolized by Skopje in his heart:

Üsküp ki Yıldırım Beyazıd Han diyâridır,
Evlâd-ı Fâtihân’a onun yâdigârıdır.

Fîrûze kubbelerle bizim şehrimizdi o;
Yalnız bizimdi, çehre ve ruhiyle biz’di o.

Üsküp ki Şar-dağı’nda devâmıydı Bursa’nın.
Bir lâle bahçesiydi dökülmüş temiz kanın.

Üç şanlı harbin arş’a asılmış silâhları
Parlardı yaşlı gözlere bayram sabahları.

Ben girmeden hayâtı şafaklandırıan çağa,
Bir sonbaharda annemi gömdük o toprağa.

Îsâ Bey’in fetihtе açılmış mezarlığı
Hulyâma âhiret gibi nakşetti varlığı.

Vaktiyle öz vatanda bizimken, bugün niçin
Üsküp bizim değil? Bunu duyduğum, için için.

Kalbimde bir hayâli kalıp kaybolan şehir!
Ayrılmanın bıraktığı hicran derindedir!

Çok sürse ayrılık, aradan geçse çok sene,
Biz sende olmasak bile, sen bizdesin gene.^{3 *}

According to him, Skopje is a Turkish city which hosted “the varieties” during the periods of conquest which was preserved until recent times. This city is a spiritual cemetery of the Mehmed the Conqueror era. After stating that there lies a Muslim saint in every corner, he talks about a popular rumour. According to this rumour, either Bagdad or Skopje has one saint more than the other! The researchers have not solved this issue yet! But all the same, the Saints of Skopje had a superiority. All of them were “warriors”...Even their names recall this... Bukağılı Baba Türbesi, Cafer Baba Türbesi, Gazi Baba Türbesi, Haydar Baba Türbesi...

Yahya Kemal further argues that the first Turkishness was introduced in Istanbul by the Turks in Skopje and proves this statement by the fact that some of the people of Skopje who fought in the conquest of Istanbul were wounded and some others were martyrs and those who were wounded formed the Skopje neighborhood by the Golden Horn and settled there⁴.

The most sentimental parts about his family in Yahya Kemal’s memories, doubtlessly, is the part in which he talks about the death of his mother. What concerns us here is the fact that the stages such as relatives, neighbours and acquaintances gather in the house of the deceased upon hearing the news of death

3 Yahya Kemal, Kendi Gök Kubbemiz, Yahya Kemal Enstitüsü Yayınları, 3. Baskı, İstanbul 1967, s. 77,78.

* Skopje is the land of Yıldırım Beyazıt Han it is the gift for the grandsons of the conquerors.

It was our city with turquoise domes, it belonged only to us with its faceand spirit.

Skopje was the continuation of Sar mountain in Bursa, your clean blood shedwas a garden of tulips.

The weapons of three glorious wars hang on the sky, shone in the tearful eyes on festival mornings.

Before I reachedthe age thar dawnsthe life, we burnedmy mother in the earth on an autumn day.

The bomb of İsa Bey opened during yhe conquest, embroideredthe existence like doom in my dream.

In the past Skopje belonged to us, but today why is not it ours? I felt this.

The city that disappeared, its dream in my heart, the sorrow it left with separation is deep down.

If the separation is long, though years pass, if we are not in with you, you are always with us.

4 Nihat Sami Banarlı, a., g., e., s. 30.

and wrapping the body in shroud, taking the body to the cemetery and burial is the same as the stages of any funeral ceremony in an Anatolian city.

Based on what he narrates about his family in his memories, we can summarize that: Yahya Kemal is the son of a middle-income family in Skopje. This family had nurses, housekeepers, male servants, and stewards and lived in mansions like the families living in any city in Anatolia such as İstanbul, Bursa, Konya etc.. This Turkish family structure which was prevalent in the Balkans until as late as the end of the nineteenth century, deformed after the Balkan War (1912) and disappeared almost totally.

His school days

Besides providing first-hand information about his life, the ceremony on the day he started primary school and his school days in Skopje and Thessaloniki narrated in Yahya Kemal's memoirs, they inform us about the level of education of the Turkish schools in the Balkan cities at the end of the nineteenth century:

"I started school in 1889 when we moved into our new house which had been built recently. The school was called the New School and was located just behind the niche of Sultan Murat Mosque and it was a foundation of five hundred years.

The day I started school was in full accordance with the old traditions. Early in the morning the Principal Sabri and Second Teacher Gani Efendi came to the male section of our house; they had bought a fat ink-holder from the shops and a walletcase with silver thread that can be hung from the neck. Gani Efendi sharpened a pencil, dipped it into the ink in the holder. He wrote *Rabbi yessir*. Then they poured sugar on it; they made me lick the ink of that piece of writing with sugar. They gave some candies to the school children waiting outside in the garden or in the square. Finally this group of children started to march chanting the hymn together :

Şol cennetin ırmakları

Akar Allah deyu deyu

Çıkmış Tanrı melekleri

Bakar Allah deyu deyu*

* The rivers of this paradise flow singin Allah Allah, and the angles of God looking and singing Allah Allah.

There were guests, they drank fruit juice, they put candies into their belts and pockets, then so as not to make me feel afraid, they took me to the school from the Saat Hill in a carriage following a different route. They put the mattress prepared by my mother in semi arch behind the niche-like place in the teacher Gani Efendi's corner. That was the first day I stepped into the world of education.”⁵

He started the primary school with *Âmin Alayı*’ at the age of five. It seems that this ceremony, which was common in Anatolia, was observed in the Turkish cities in the Balkans as well.

In fact, The New School where Yahya Kemal started his education had been built before Turks conquered Istanbul and since then, has been an old structure where the knowledge taught and the teaching methods never changed. The reason why this school was called the new school was “the fact that the burnt and destroyed building was reopened in time”. Yahya Kemal, who must have liked the ceremony of starting school very much, writes about it in the following pages of the book with small changes. The New School has two classrooms and two teachers, Sabri Efendi and Gani Efendi. Tough Yahya Kemal states that he never knew the differences between them in terms of education, he writes that Sabri Efendi was like a principal of the school.

In his memoirs, he does not mention the curriculum of the school; but the level of education can be inferred from the relations between teachers and students and the relations among the students, the punishment methods applied in the school, and occasional level exams.

Above all, the students were divided into two groups : the nobles and the public. The noble class, among them is Yahya Kemal, used to sit near the teacher Gani Efendi in the classroom which was a big hall of audience while the others used to sit on sheepskin rugs by the walls of the hall. The teaching method employed is “memorization”. The students used to read the Qur’an *Amme Cüzü* loudly by moving to and fro. History was considered to consist of the life stories of the prophets.

The most common punishment methods used in the schools were bastinado, drawing the ears with fingernails and beating. Taking trays of baklava sweets to the houses of the teachers during feasts, Ramadan and religious festival days is a tradition observed by students like a rule. Yahya Kemal attends this school for about three years; but because of the curriculum applied and inefficient management, he cannot even learn the alphabet.

At the end of the third year, there was news about the fact that Ahmet Eyüp Paşa, the governor, had a new school called Mekteb-i Edep (School of Modesty) built in the Jewish quarter of Skopje and assigned Ali Galip, a convert from Thessaloniki, as the principal of this school. This new school aims to change and

5 Yahya Kemal, *Çocukluğum, Gençliğim, Siyasî ve Edebi Hatıralarım*, Yahya Kemal Enstitüsü Yayınları, İstanbul 1973, s. 2.

improve “the mentality which has never been changed” since the Yıldırım Beyazıt era, in many fields, particularly in education. The public and teachers who resist to change start to rumour about this school clandestinely. The fact that it was opened in the Jewish quarter doubtlessly made things easier for them. But all the same, Yahya Kemal’s father sends his son to Mekteb-i Edep, believing that the education provided in the new school will be better:

“In 1892, when I was seven, they sent me to a private school, which was the first modern school in Skopje and which was opened by the governor and the commander Müşir Ahmet Eyüp Pasha.

The name of this school was Mekteb-i Edep. Most probably this name was taken from Şeyh Galip’s *Hüsn ü Aşk*’. Despite the fact that its name is related to *Hüsn ü Aşk*, Mekteb-i Edep was totally new. It had a modern building and modern teachers. The principal was Galip Efendi of Thessaloniki. We had a reading book brought from İstanbul. Its name was **Oku**. The book contained all kinds of letters. Big and small, in various sizes.

Galip Efendi of Thessaloniki taught the children of Skopje the alphabet. He taught me how to read in six months. We used to have modern desks. Galip Efendi used to walk between the desks and stand by each child and teach us how to read paying great attention and knowledge.

I studied at Mekteb-i Edep for four years. At the age of eleven, I had a certificate from this school. People used to bring the newspapers **Sabah** and **İkdam** from İstanbul and various magazines. I used to read these newspapers and magazines with great passion okuyor, understood them and improved my reading skills”⁶.

Yahya Kemal sums in his memoirs his matriculation in Mekteb-i Edeb in a sentence : “My transfer from the new school to Mekteb-i Edeb was like transferring from the East to the West”.

Because of the early death of his mother, Yahya Kemal could not receive a regular education; so after Mekteb-i Edep, tough he attended preparatory schools in Skopje and Thessaloniki for some time, he could not graduate from such schools and he was sent to İstanbul in 1902 to complete his preparatory school education⁷. The fact that he went to İstanbul and then to Paris started a new period which could never be changed. His ties with the Balkan cities continue with either his envisioning them in his imagination or occasionally through short visits. In each of such visits, he experiences sorrow, surprise and regret at the same time. He ruminates on the causes of the fact that we cannot influence the changing map of the region with the lands which belonged to Turks for centuries. He wants the Turkish men of letters, philosophy and science to research the real causes of the

6 Nihat Sami Banarlı, op. cit., p. 23.

7 Kazım Yetiş, Yahya Kemal’in Hayatı I, [The Life of Yahya Kemal] Yahya Kemal Enstitüsü Yayınları, İstanbul 1998, p. 51.

collapse of the Otoman State and to convey the warning stories of the sad separation from Bosnia, Skopje, Thessaloniki and other Balkan cities to the future generations.

He is a poet. What poetry can achieve is to preserve alive the great joys and sorrows of an individual, a family or a nation experienced in time, thereby to form the thoughts that can shape the future:

(...)

Kopmuşuz bizler o öz varlık olan manzaradan

Bahseder gerçi duyanlar bir onulmaz yaradan

Derler: İnsanda derin bir yaradır köksüzlük

Budur âlemde hudutsuz ve hazîn öksüzlük

Sızlatır bâzı saatler dayanılmaz bir acı

Kökü toprakta kalıp kendi kesilmiş ağacı

Ruh arar başka teselli her esen rüzgârda

Ne yazık! Doğmuyoruz şimdi o topraklarda! ^{8*}

Conclusion

Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, who was born in the Balkans, and who after completing his higher education in France and returned to Turkey, is a man of letters and philosophy who wrote books of prose as well as books of poetry during the republican period. He served as a Member of Parliament in the following years and as the ambassador of Turkey in Poland, Spain and Pakistan. The end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, when he was a child and a teenager, was a period when the Otoman State started to collapse and new formations in the Balkans started. Since his memoirs narrate this turbulent period and geography, they are interesting texts not only for our history of literature but also for our history of thought and politics. Based on his memoirs, it is observed that the family life in the Balkan cities, wedding ceremonies and funerals and school-starting ceremonies, are the same as the ones in Anatolian cities even at the end of the nineteenth century. These common ties of our culture united us despite the fact that we lived in different regions and geographies for centuries. These common ties will continue to function in the future as well.

⁸ Yahya Kemal, *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz*, [Our Own Sky] p. 51,52.

* We were separated from the view that is our self existence. Those who hear that talk about our incurable wound.

They say: Rootlessness is a deep wound in man; it is real unlimited and sad orphanage in the world.

Sometimes an unbearable pain hurts, The cut-down tree whose roots are in the earth.

The soul searches for consolation in each blowing wind. Unfortunately! We do not give birth in these lands.

BOSNIAN SABIT – THE POET OF IDIOMS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE 20 IDIOMS IN HIS VERSES

Süreyya Beyzadeoğlu*

Idioms and proverbs that existed in daily language with their didactic and guiding qualities have been frequently used as poems by Divan Poets. Since the XV. Century verses of various poets, which contain idioms and proverbs, were formed into books by eclectics. Main *manzum-mensur* eclectic works of this field are: ‘Durub-I Emsal-I Osmaniye’¹, written by Şinasi, who was one of the Administrative Reforms (Tanzimat) period poets and writers, which contains 4004 idioms and proverbs and 838 verses including some of these idioms and proverbs; and ‘Armağan’², written by Ahmed Badi, who was one of the poets and historians of the same period, which contains 5675 idioms and proverbs and 5106 verses including these idioms and proverbs. These works were examined and first one was published by Ministry of Education and the latter was published by Harvard University. According to these pieces and studies done on this field, Bosnalı Sabit was the pioneering person among Ottoman poets, who used the biggest amount of idioms and proverbs, with his verse containing 210 idioms and proverbs.³

Sabit was probably born in 1650 in Uzice, which was a small town in Bosnia. He was a student of mufti Halil and he came to İstanbul in 1670 in order to improve his education. After he completed his education, firstly he worked as a *müderri* (teacher) in various madrasahs, and then he worked as a judge for long years in Çorlu and Burgaz. He was sometimes dismissed because of injustices; but each time he was assigned to a new job, since he wrote encomiums for the leading politicians of that period. These duties were being a judge in Yanya and Kefe;

* Prof. Dr., Trakya University

1 Süreyya A.Beyzadeoğlu,; Şinasi Durub-ı Emsâl-i Osmaniye, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı yay. İstanbul, 2003.

2 Süreyya A.Beyzadeoğlu, Edirneli Ahmet Bâdi Efendi, Armağan (Divan Şiirinde Atasözleri ve Deyimler), Harvard Üniversitesi Yakındoğu Dilleri ve Medeniyetleri Bölümü, 2004.

3 Tüğ, Tüğünce, Tüğ Düzmeç Yedi İklim, Ocak 1994, s. 53-55; Divân Şiirinde Bir Deyim, Taş Yatur, Türk Edebiyatı, Mart 1996, s. 55-56; Atasözleri ve Deyimlerin Divân Şiirimize Yansıması ve Bilinmeyen Bir Eser Armağan Türk edebiyatı Ağustos 1999, s.30-33; “Ahmed Bâdi” Edirne: Serhattaki Paytaht. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık Ticaret ve Sanayi A.Ş 1998 . s. 601-609; Osmanlı Dönemi Atasözleri ve Deyimlerinden Divan Şiirinde Yer Alan 20 Atasözü ve Deyim Trakya Üniversitesi Bilimsel Araştırmalar Dergisi, Cilt I, Ocak 2001, s.82-90 ;Toplum Yaşayışında Manzum Deyimlerin Yeri, En Çok Deyim Kullanan Divan Şairleri ve Müşterek Kullandıkları Deyimler, Erciyes Üniversitesi Kayseri Ve Yöresi Kültür, Sanat ve Edebiyat Bilgi Şöleni. 12-13 Nisan 2001, Fen Edebiyat Fak. Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü Yayınları, s. 128-168. Nazım ve Nesir Örnekli Osmanlı Dönemi Atasözleri ve Deyimleri, Türkler, Ankara 2002, C.11, s.622-634; Şinasi’nin Durub-ı Emsâl-i Osmaniye’sinde Yer Alan 122 Fransızca Atasözü ve Deyim, Türk Kültürü, Mayıs 2002, s.46, s.299-309; Halk Edebiyatı Ürünü Sayılan Deyimlerin Divan ve Tanzimat Nesrine Yansımaları, Türk Kültürü, Ağustos 2002, s.472, s.486-495; Durub-ı Emsâl-i Osmaniye’de Türkçe ile Birlikte Arapça, Farsça ve Fransızca’da Ortak Kullanılan Atasözleri ve Deyimler, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Uluslararası IV. Dil, Yazın ve Deyişbilim Sempozyumu, 17-19 Haziran 2004; Osmanlı Dönemi Atasözleri ve Deyimlerinden Manzum Örnekli 20 Atasözü ve Deyimin Yorumu, V. Uluslararası Türk Dili Kurultayı, 20-26 Eylül 2004.

being a sheikh in Konya and Diyarbakır, respectively. He became ill during his last duty, and he came to İstanbul for treatment, then he died in 1712.

Sabit, who involved local lifestyle and social life in poems, had a volumed divan containing 352 lyric, 31 encomiums, 53 cantos, 44 historical and other poetry types; *Zafername Mesnevi* about the Prekop victory of Selim Giray against Leh and Russian armies, with 426 verses; *Ethem-ü Huma*, with 1007 verses, whose theme was love; and *Derename mesnevi* with 169 verses; a mesnevi called *Berbername* with 93 verses, with the theme of life of a hairdresser's apprentice in Çorlu; a mesnevi called 'amr-ı Leys' with 43 verses; and 40 translations of hadiths, and commentaries. For more information about Sabit, Turgut Karaca's studies can be referred.⁴

In this paper, among 210 idioms and proverbs found in Sabit's divan and other works, 20 proverbs will be interpreted. For other proverbs and idioms, the study called 'Armağan' should be referred.

1. Adam olmak

A⁵ 70

Ö⁶ 2733

K⁷ 16

This proverb means being a beneficial man for the society after taking an education. Sabit used this proverb in one of his verses addressing one of his friends, who had behavioral disorders although he had gained a status as 'We warn you during every conversation, but you do not mind. You can't be considered a successful man though you are a chairperson or you are upon the sky'. The verse is as following:

(Sabit / Gazel)

Sana her meclisinde söyleriz sen mülzem olmazsın

Değil kürsiye va'ız arşa çıksan adem olmazsın (254/1)

4 Bosnalı Alaeddin Sâbit. Dîvân. Yay. Hzl. Turgut Karacan, Sivas: Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1991

Berbername. Yay. Hzl. Turgut Karacan. Çevren. Yıl XVII. S. 76,s. 37-43, Piriştine: 1990

Derenâme. Yay. Hzl. Turgut Karacan. Sivas: 1990

Ethem ü Hümâ. Yay. Hzl. Turgut Karacan. Sivas: 1990

Zafername. Yay. Hzl. Turgut Karacan. Sivas: 1991

5 Süreyya Beyzadeoğlu, Edirne'li Ahmet Badî Efendi, Armağan, a. g. e.

6 Ömer Asım Aksoy, Atasözleri ve Deyimler Sözlüğü 2; İstanbul 1988

7 Kemal Eyyüboğlu, Onüçüncü Yüzyıldan Günümüze Kadar Şiirde ve Halk Dilinde Atasözü ve Deyimler, İstanbul: 1973 C.I-1975 C.II.

2. Ayağı yere basmamak.

A 589

D 432⁸

Ö 3468

K 23

This proverb means: to be happy, not to know what to do because of happiness. Sabit says in one of his verses that ‘Just like a goblet feeling proud with the compliments of his beloved, the tulip is off the ground.’ The verse is as following:

(Sabit / Gazel)

Cam-veş mağrur-I dest-I iltifat-I yar olup

Şevkden yer mi basar Sabit ayağı lalenin (212/7)

3. Ayağına balta vurmak.

A 591

This proverb means: to impede something. Sabit, addressing to his beloved in one of his verses says that ‘You can destroy my body, which is isolated from materialistic passions, but do not sabotage, do not destroy my love.’ The verse is as following:

(Sabit / Edhem ü Hüma)

Kesmeden gitme nahl-I uryanım

Payıma balta vurma sultanım (345/4)

In one of his verses, complaining about cold weather preventing his slender beloved from going around, and complaining about cold winter that prevents his beloved, whom he likens a plane tree, from walking. The verse is as following:

8 Süreyya Beyzadeoğlu, Durub-i Emsal-i Osmaniye.a.g.e.

(Sabit / Gazel)

Ol servi serdi-I heva gezdirmez oldu ca-be-ca

Bir balta urdu bu şita şimdi çenarın payına (302/6)

In another verse, he again complains that his beloved was sabotaged again, because his beloved was not able to walk around since her leg was injured. The verse is as following:

Zahm urup payına çıkmadı ayak seyrine yar

Aşkın ayağına balta uruldu tekrar (109/1)

4. Başını hırkaya çekmek.

A 806

D 595

This proverb, which means, to isolate from the outer world, try to not to mind, or give importance, were usually used for sheikh and zahid in characters of Divan poems. In one of his verses, Sabit indicates that many deceitful people disconnected their relationships with the outer world because of being desperate, and became sheik. The verse is as following:

(Sabit / Edhem ü Hüma)

Hırkaya çekti başını nâ-çârŞeyh olup tekye açtı her `ayâr (365/2)

In another verse, he says that the rose bud gives her beauty, which resembles a red sac full of gold, to the rose and isolated herself from the world like the fake zahids. The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Gazel)

Kîsesiyle zer-i surhı güle teslîm etmiş

Başını hırkaya çekmiş mütezâhid gonca (296/4)

5. To be scared out of one's wit.

A 1178

Ö 4203

K 2

This idiom means to be frightened as if death will come in a very dangerous situation. Sabit used this idiom in one of his verses. He resembles a very near leaves of a rose to the lips of a couple, who are about to kiss each other, and then he expresses that he has been jealous of this situation and so, is scared out of his wit. The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Gazel)

Dehâna geldi cânım Sâbitâ bi'llâhî reşkimden

Olunca ol iki gül-gonce-i şâd-âb leb-ber-leb (21/5)

6. To be skillful and tight-lipped.

A 1906

This idiom, which means “being honest”, “talking little”, “knowing what to say”, was used by Sabit in a poem made of rhymed couplets in Berbername, to describe a barber apprentice as a skillful, an honest and a handsome boy. The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Berbernâme)Eli uz ağzı düz berber idi

Eli ağzına uyar dil-ber idi (20/3)

7. To keep a protective eye on.

A 2317

D 1756

Ö 5608

K 1

This idiom, which means protecting someone from outer dangers, was used by Sabit in a verse to express that the daffodil becomes the lovers' the eyes and the

ears, which keep a protective eye on the loved and watches the coming of its darling. The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Gazel)

Fezâdan `ayni olup çeşm ü gûş-ı `uşşâkın

Kudûm-ı dil-bere hep göz kulağdır nergis (156/4)

8. To pull the wool over someone's eyes.

A 2363

K 1

Ö 5573

This idiom, which means deceiving or misleading someone by showing a bad situation as a good one, was used by Sabit in a verse to express that his lover made him fell in love with her by taking him to a pub serving alcoholic drinks in old cups and made him drunk.

(Sâbit / Beyt)

Nakd-i cân ü dili müft aldı elimden cânân

Bir kadeh meyle boyadı gözümü pîr-i mugân (91/2)

9.No matter how tied up s/he is.

A 2848

D 2146

Ö 6222

This idiom, which means committing a big crime, was used in Sabit Edhem ü Hüma in a verse to say “forgive me and solve my problem, please though I have committed a big crime.” The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Edhem ü Hüma)

Dest-i lutfunla çâre-i zahm et

İk’elim kanda ise de rahm et (450)

In one of his kasidas, he says “make me beautiful though my hands are bloody as red as the scarlet color of the dawn.” The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Kasîde-i Ramazâniyye)

Şafak-veş iki elim kanda ise de umaram

Beyâz-ı subh-ı şefâ`atle edesin tecmîl (3/71)

10. To be left to God.

A 2987

D 2261

Ö 6326

This idiom, which means “not being helped in need of a great help”, and “being in desperate straits”, was used in Sabit’s berbername in a verse to say “the barber is suffering from an addicted love, and he is left to God”. The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Berbernâme)

Uğramış bir marîz-i cân-gâha

Derd ile kalmış işi Allâh’a (45)

11. To be blood brothers.

A 3117

Ö 6531

This idiom, which means “regarding somebody as a brother by licking a drop of each others’ blood”, was used in Sabit’s verse to say the preacher licks a drop of blood from a wine glass and becomes brothers with the poet, but he becomes an enemy of the wine glasses when he goes to talk behind a desk in front of the public. The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Gazel)

Câm ile kan yalaşır `akd-i uhuvvet eyler

Yine kürsîde olur düşmen-i sahbâ vâ`iz (186/3)

12. To break the chains.

A 3407

D 2721

Ö 6903

K 22

This idiom, which means “breaking chains” and “escaping from a bad situation by luck”, was used in Sabit’s verse to say that the impatient enemy escapes from him by breaking the chains . The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Zafernâme)

Kırıp kösteği rahş-ı sabr ü karâr

Firâr etti a`dâ-yı ber-geşte-kâr (380)

In another verse, the sheikh, who comes to give advice, escapes when he sees the khanjar. The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Gazel)

Nasîhat etmeğe gelmişti kırdı kösteği şeyh

Kopunca bend-i birîşîm-i kîne hançerde (314/5)

13. Not to pay attention.

A 3670

Ö 6932

This proverb means ‘Do not mind’, and Sabit used it in one of his verses by saying that no matter how much the nightingale cries, the rose does not mind. The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Edhem ü Hü mâ)

Ne kadar şîven eylese bülbül

Kulak asmaz figân ü zârına gül (905/3)

14. Kendini okutmak.

A 4115

Ö 7755

K 22

In a period, when healing was so common, this proverb was used to cure people, who have difficulty in listening and understanding. In one of his verses, Sabit says: When the hodja wanted to get a young man as an assistant, he says ‘this man probably became mad, he should get himself treated by praying’. The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Gazel)

Debîristâna almak sa`y eder ol tıflı rûz ü şeb

Okutsun kendini dîvâne olmuş hâce-i mekteb (19/1)

15. Saman altından su yürütmek.

A 4437

D 3276

K 22

This proverb means: to be as sly as a fox, to be extremely crafty and devious. Sabit used this proverb in one of his verses talking about someone pouring water to the plants in the garden, ‘do not mind this water being poured by deceit’.

(Sâbit / Kasîde)

Suyu san`atla altından yürüttü sebze-i bâğın

Gülüm aldanma resm-i cûy cârîdir nifâk üzre (50/4)

16. Sıkboğaz etmek.

A 4568

Ö 7841

Sabit used this proverb, which means ‘to put great pressure on someone’, in one of his verses as: While friends were discussing whether the Ramadan has arrived or not, The Ramadan month arrived just as the military police invading somewhere. The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Kasîde-i Ramazâniyye)

Yevm-i şekk sohbetine şıra sıkarken yârân

Sıkboğaz etti basıp şahne-i şehr-i Ramazân (45/1)

17. Soğuk demir döğmek.

A 4605

Sabit used this proverb, which means to struggle but in vain, in one of his verses saying ‘do not praise the beloved, who behaves unfriendly since it is struggling in vain’. The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Edhem ü Hümâ)

Dil-i serdin hele katı öğme

Yorulursun soğuk demir döğme (910/3)

18. Şeker çiğnemek.

A 4766

Sabit used this proverb, which means ‘to say something nice’ in one of his verses by saying that by kisses, he confessed his beloved, who talked as sweet as Şirin that was Hüsrev’s beloved, to say nice things. The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Beyt)

Deheninden hele bir bûseye aldım ikrâr

Bir şeker çiğnedi ol Hüsrev-i şîrîn-güftâr (115/2)

19. Yan kabağı gibi yanına takılmak.

A 5261

This proverb, which reminds us drinking wine by using bowls made of pumpkins, means to bother someone. In one of his verses, Sabit says ‘the military

police bothered us while we were coming from the pub with wine bowls in our hands'. The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Gazel)

Kedû-yı meyle gelirken tarîk-i mey-kededen

Takıldı yan kabağı gibi şahne yanımıza (288/5)

20. Yüreğinin yağı erimek.

A 5529

Ö 8836

K 21

This proverb, which can also be used as 'İçinin yağı erimek', means to be apprehensive, to be anxious. Sabit says in one of his verses that they were not the dew drops appearing on the rose, but they were the anxieties of the nightingale. The verse is as follows:

(Sâbit / Gazel)

Gül-goncadaki jâle değil tâbiş-i gülden

Sâbit yüreği yağı erir bülbül-i zârın (214/5)

As it is understood in these examples, Sabit succeeded to use the proverbs of the community in his poems.

A STUDY ABOUT GENRE, WAY OF LIFE AND LANGUAGE FEATURES WHICH ARE PECULIAR TO RUMELIA AND DEVELOPED IN BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA AND AROUND DURING OTOMAN ERA

Rıfat Gürgendereli*

ABSTRACT

Turks have left lasting works while living their own culture and language in and around Bosnia Herzegovina since XV. Century.

The most important common feature of the poets who lived in this region between fifteenth and eighteenth century is that they have lyric, plain and intimate discourse which is similar to spoken language. Intimate addressings such as “be, bre, ya, hey, a” which are seen in the discourse of the people living in Rumelia are frequent in the works of these poets. Manners which don’t care about the world, concepts like dervish and unconventionality, the spirit of incursionism they have because of living along borders, using proverbs and idioms frequently, talking about beliefs and traditions, signs of Christian culture which are seen because of being close to each other, and using the names of the places in Balkan are the common features of the poets in this region.

In our study, we will classify these features and present them by giving examples of ottoman poets trained in and around Bosnia Herzegovina.

The term Rumelia is actually a name which was given to the land that extends from Thrace to the Balkans. In Poet’s notes (Tezkire), it can be seen that this region is mentioned as birth and settlement place of some poets by means of a general expression as it used in same other terms. This usage “Rumeliden” or “Rumelidendir” is seen as a place of birth and settlement. However, in some other usages Rumelia is not left in this kind of a wide and general area expression but limited to a related town or city as in “his residence was İpsala in Rumelia¹”. While talking about Nehari , Aşık Çelebi recounts this information about the subject. His birth of place is Prizren in Rumelia. It is told that the boys that are born in Prizren are given pseudonyms before they are given names. The boy who was born in Yenice speaks Persian when he is able to say father. It is said that in Priştine boys are born with their pen-cases on their waists. Prizren is a source of poets, Yenice is a mine of Persian, Piriştine is a place of recorders.²

As it can be realised from this information Rumelia contributes to the Ottoman culture in general meaning as a geographical identity. For these reasons the poets that are born in Rumelia have a style of language, speaking, manner and content that are peculiar to them. Fuat Köprülü mentions the features of about the

* Asst. Prof. Dr., Trakya University

1 Necati Sungur, Ahi Divanı, (1994), Kültür Bakanlığı, Ankara, p.2

2 Mustafa İsen, Ötelerden Bir Ses (1997), Akçağ, Ankara, p.144-145

poems of Rumelia poets as sincerity, strong inspiration, freshness, pride and giving importance to local motives.³

These features of sayings which we will suggest as a general characteristic of the Poets of Rumelia, their power of using proverbs and idioms in true and meaningful way is a sign of the degree of their awareness of Turkish. Because they not only told their poems in Turkish but also used these characteristic saying styles of Turkish skillfully in their poems. This sincere style, proverbs and idioms are so skillfully placed in poems that when these poems are read nothing is found that spoils Turkish or sounds unpleasant. This is important for it suggests that the power of using and understanding Turkish, which we feel its absence even today was very developed with poets who grew up in or around Bosnia.

In this proclamation, we will classify saying, language and content characteristics that are considered common among Rumelia poets and try to reveal their reflection on the poems of classical Ottoman poets.

A. Way of Speaking and Language Characteristics

The most important characteristic of way of speaking which is realized about the poets of Rumelia is that they used expressions “a, e, be, hey, a begüm, iki gözüm, hey, gözüm nuru, bir iki, ikide bir be hey kardeş, var ol” in their poems.

One of the most important classical Ottoman poets, Hasan Ziyai From Mostar⁴ frequently used these expressions in his poems. Some of these are as follows.

be hey:

Gün yüzünü ol meh-rû gösterdi Ziyâ’îye

Dedi ki yüzün aydın gel şevke **be hey** miskin⁵

a begim:

Şâh-ı ‘aşk olmayana ehl-i hîred şâh demez

Aşk eri câh-ı cihâna **a begim** câh demez⁶

3 Fuat Köprülü, İslam Ansiklopedisi (1988) , Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, İstanbul, V.12, p.554.

4 Müberra Gürgendereli, Hasan Ziya’i Hayatı-Eserleri-Sanâtı ve Divanı (2002), Kültür Bakanlığı, Ankara, p.38-39

5 Gürgendereli (2002:274)

6 Gürgendereli (2002:199)

hey gözüm nûru:

Nedir cevır eyleyip çok böyle i‘râz etmege bâis
Ne gördün **hey gözüm nuru** Ziyâî müstemendinden⁷

be hey kardeş:

Be hey kardeş terâzû-yı ta‘akkul birle vezn etdim
Güzellikde benim sultânıma Yûsuf beraber mi⁸

e:

Gizlenme ey melek gel *e* göster cemâlini
Derd-i derûnum eylesin bir bir âşikâr⁹

bir iki:

Bir iki yarma odun bulmağa mecâlim yok
Görün ne yarmalar urdu felek bu yerde bana¹⁰

iki gözüm:

Ol *iki gözüm* beni ağlatmak ister hicr ile
Dem-be-dem kan ağların iki gözümden bî-haber¹¹

One of the classical Ottoman Poets Mezaki from Bosnia nearly claps for himself in his this sincere couplet with the expression “var ol” while expressing that he is unique is saying beautiful poems.

Hakkâ ki Mezâkî sühan-ârâ-yı cihânsın

Yok şimdi nazîrin biliriz biz dahi **var ol** (G.295/9)¹²

7 Gürgendereli (2002:262)

8 Gürgendereli (2002:329)

9 Gürgendereli (2002:169)

10 Gürgendereli (2002:357)

11 Gürgendereli (2002:165)

12 Ahmet Mermer, Mezaki, Hayatı Edebi Kişiliği ve Divanının Tenkidli Metni (1991), Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, Ankara, p.465

Derviş Paşa from Mostar states these ways of saying as this in the following couplets.

be hey:

Cânâ cevri-i bî-hisâb ettin terahhum kılmadın
Yadına gelmez **be hey** zâlim meger rûz-ı hesâb¹³

benim ömrüm:

Paymâl-ı gam-ı hicrânınam elden gittim
Gel **benim ömrüm** eğer gelmez isen ben gittim¹⁴

Among characteristics of way of saying and language that are seen in the poems of Rumelia poets there are sincere, informal and womanizer expressions. Poet Ziyai states his will of dedication to two unforgotten woman for him at the same time expresses in these plain and womanizer way of saying.

İki nigâra bağlanamaz m'ola bir gönül
Bu hatırıma dolandır oldu **ikide bir**¹⁵

Also in his poems informal expressions like “kuzucağım, canım, sultanım, gözüm nuru” are frequently used.

Koynuma gir esirge **kuzucağım**
Bedenim baştan ayağa beredir¹⁶
Revâ mıdır gidem zulm ile boynunda kala kanım
Umarken lutfunu ihsânını **devletlü sultanım**¹⁷

Yasakçızade Bezmi from Bosnia in one of his couplets reproaches his beloved who visits his rival by means of expressions like “hele gör, gelir mi”.

Agyâra varır eyler o bed-hûy ziyaret
Amma **hele gör** aşık-ı müştâka **gelir mi**¹⁸

Alaaddin Sabit from Bosnia uses words in informal language like this.

Saki görünce zülfünü sevdam **depreşir**
Ayağına düşem gibi çeşmim kararıyor¹⁹

13 Kınalızade Hasan Çelebi, Tezkiretü'ş-şuara, hzl.İbrahim Kutluk (1989), Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, V.1, p.376

14 Kutluk (1989:376)

15 Gürgendereli (2002:190)

16 Gürgendereli (2002:183)

17 Gürgendereli (2002:109)

18 İsmail Belig, Nuhbetü'l-âsâr li-zeyli Zübdetü'l-eş'âr, hzl.Abdülkerim Abdulkadiroğlu (1999), Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, Ankara, p.29

19 Bosnalı Alaaddin Sabit, Divan, hzl.Turgut Karacan (1991), Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi, Sivas, p.14

Another originality in the poems of Sabit is that because he was from Bosnia he used words borrowed from western culture.

Genc-i atiyede Sâbit olur tarih
Hedef oldu bu tûfenge *ceneral*-i nâkes²⁰

Bizi ey gonca kaba *pastav* ile aldatma
Sana kim itdi o gülpenbe kabayı biliriz²¹

Another common characteristic of the poets of Rumelia is that they frequently used proverbs and idioms in their poems. Derviş Paşa from Mostar uses the idiom “ocağına su koymak” (watering his root) like this.

Çeşmim akıttı yaşlarını sîne dâğına
Su koymayınca komadı âhir *ocağına*²²

Here are some examples from Ziyai from Mostar who has hundreds of idioms and proverbs in his divan.

Çıkmayan candan ümit kesilmez: (Unless the soul departs no need to be hopeless)

La‘lin aldım ağzıma var gerçi hicre ihtimâl
Çıkmayan candan ümidin kesmez amma ehl-i hâl²³

El için ağlayan gözsüz kalır: (A man who cries for others will love his eyes)

‘Aceb mi destini yâd eyleyip kör olsam ağlarken
El için ağlayan gözsüz kalır derler gözüm nûru²⁴

20 Karacan (1991:64)

21 Karacan (1991:64)

22 Kutluk (1989:377)

23 Gürgendereli (2002:236)

24 Gürgendereli (2002:337)

Başı üstünde tutmak: (To carry on head)

Her ne hıdmet buyurusan *başı üstünde tutar*

Müstehak oldu hakikatte çok ikrâma kalem²⁵

The classical Ottoman poet of 17 th century poet Alaaddin Sabit also frequently used proverbs and idioms in his poems. The distinctive feature of him that makes him different from others is his humorous style of writing. As it is seen in the poems of Sabit, the more poem goes towards humour the more proverbs and idioms becomes peculiar to the Turk. Furthermore, the entrance of proverbs and idioms into poetry by means of humour provided Turkish language with sovereignty on poetry. Because he used ordinary proverbs and idioms so humorously that it is impossible not to smile when his couplets are read²⁶.

In the following couplet the poet uses “to beg” and to feel near faintiry” idioms together.

Sâkî görince zülfünü sevdâm depreşir

Ayağına düşem gibi *çeşmim kararıyor*²⁷

“The village in your sight doesn’t require a guide to go” proverbs is expessed as this.

Buyur delâlet-i aşk ile kûy-ı canana

Eğerçi kim *görünen kûya istemezse delil*²⁸

B. Content Characteristics

1. The Culture of Christianity

With the widening of geographic borders of the Ottoman Empire the Balkans were taken into the borders of the empire and majority of population didn’t leave their residence. Although muslim population and christian population lived in different neighborhoods, they shared the some geography after all.

25 Gürgendereli (2002:911)

26 Karacan (1991:69)

27 Karacan (1991:111)

28 Karacan (1991:120)

Probably for this reason items of christianity culture is more often seen in the poems of Rumelia poets than those of Anatolian poets.²⁹

In a couplet Ziyai describes universe as a church and lover is described as an organ which moans with the love of idols.

Mesîhâ-dem sanemler derdine düşmüş zebûnum ben

Figân ile *cihan deyrinde* kalmış *erganûnum* ben³⁰

Lyric poem poet Tarakzade Sani from Bosnia compares his beloved with Jesus Christ who revived the dead with his breath.

Bir melek yüzlü güzeldir yere gökten indi

Mürdeler cismini *İsâ* ihyâ kıldı³¹

Galip from Bosnia used christianity motives like “Mesih, Ruhü’l-Kudüs, Meryem” together in one of his couplets.

Cân verir hasret-i güftâr-ı dehânınla *Mesîh*

Böyle *Ruhu’l Kudüsün* nutkuna *Meryem* ne desin³²

Also in the poems of Mezaki Jesus Christ is mentioned with his reviving characteristic.

Eder ihyâ leb-i revân bahşı

Eser-i mu’ciz-i *Mesihayî*³³

17 th century poet Zekeriya Sükkeri from Bosnia compares Christ’s reviving the dead with his success in poetry and his reviving poetry.

Cân vermede nazma Sükkerîdir

İsâ-nefes-i diyâr-ı tecrîd³⁴

2. Names of Places that Belong Rumelia

The Poets of Rumelia have chosen majority of the subject they wrote about from their social lives. For instance, most of the town names they wrote about in

29 Yaşar Aydemir, Behiştî Divanı (2000), Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, Ankara, s.113

30 Gürgendereli (2002:36)

31 Mustafa İsen, Künhü’l-ahbârın Tezkire Kısım (1994), Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, Ankara, p.310

32 Abdulkadiroğlu (1999:287)

33 Mermer (1999:547)

34 Erdoğan Erol, SükkerîHayatı, Edebi Kişiliği ve Divanı (1994), Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, Ankara, s.79

their poems are their hometowns such as Üsküp, Vardar Yenicesi³⁵. Ziyai from Mostar mentions names of places in Rumelia in his divan such as Hersek, Karadağ, Eski Kiliselik, Akhisar and Benefşe Limanı.

In a couplet the poet dreams of being the governor of Sanjak in Herzegovina.

Begligim varır kaba cem'ine mirim gûyâ

Rumelinde bana *sancak verilmiş Hersek*³⁶

Eski Kiliselik is subdivision of İzladi province, which is a passage of the Balkan mountains on the road between Plevne and Karlova. It is mentioned in the divan as follows.

Bugün cevrinle gönlüm yıkdın asla vermedin sûret

Gamınla ey sanem dil hânesi *Eski Kiliselik*³⁷

Sabit also mentions important names who recorded about the important historical events of their period in the Balkans. He mentions the arrival of Crimean Khan Selim Giray as follows.

Înân-ı azmini atf etti sonra *Üskübe*

Elinde hancer-i nusret belinde tîğ-i cihâd

In the eulogy he wrote about İbrahim Paşa when he was in Bosnia, he tells about his victory against the enemy in and around Bosnia.

Nuhistin ayet-i te'yîd-i kudsîdir ki kahr etti

Diyâr-ı Bosna serhaddinde küffâr-ı mağrûru³⁸

Hasan Kaimi from Bosnia tells about the troubles of the population in Bosnia that were caused by the enemy as follows.

Pâdişâha var mı bildiren bunu

Bosnalı zârî eder dün ü günü

Asumâna çıktı feryâd ü ünü

Bir bölük kâfir bizi kıldı zebûn³⁹

35 Halil Çeltik, "Rumeli Şairlerinde Yöresel Kültür" (2000) Bilig, Ankara, N.14, p.106

36 Gürgendereli (2002:37)

37 Gürgendereli (2002:37)

38 Karacan (1991:81)

C. The Spirit of Gaza and Raider:

The classical Ottoman poets mainly in qasidas sometimes tells about war scenes in their poems. Because it was in the western border of the Ottoman Empire, Rumelia was always a place of raiders and many wars took place there. Poets of Rumelia takes these wars as a plot and they write lowdatory poems for raiders and ghazis⁴⁰.

Hasan Kaimi tell about the invasion of Herzegovina and the events of the war day by day in his poem as follows.

Şol katur hayınları kuruttı *Hersek sancağın*

Kasaba köyler yakıp çok etdi vîran ocağın

Aldılar ne buldularsa tarayıp her bucağın

Bunca bin adem esir edip kayın kuzucağın

Vacip olmuşdur erenler sala seyf ü nacağın⁴¹

In his quatrain in the style of a folk poem, Kaimi calls out with the emotions heroism.

Asker-i İslâm yürüdü kaskına

Hazır ol kâfir *Venedik* vaktine

Bosnalı hep cümle vardı üstüne

Hazır ol kâfir *Venedik* vaktine⁴²

Asım from Bosnia, who has a complete divan compares the burning colour of evening with the flame of mortar.

Acep bir *tob-ı havan* mı tutuşdu hısn-ı şam içre

Sürûr-ı dūd-ı âteş tutdı gök meydânını zîrâ⁴³

Atfi from Bosnia compares his strong sighs that go up to heavens with swords that are straightened toward the enemy.

Bî-sebeb sanma bizim *âh-ı şerer-rîzimizi*

Düşmenin kaskına *şemşîr-i mücellâ* çekeriz⁴⁴

39 Kenan Erdoğan, "Bosnalı Hasan Kâimi ve Divanının Manisa Nüshası" (2004), Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi, Ankara, N.31, p.257

40 Çeltik (2000:106)

41 Erdoğan (2004:210)

42 Erdoğan (2004:259)

43 Abdulkadiroğlu (1999:255)

In the divan of Mezaki the polish mentioned with their conquest of Komanice and Hungarians are mentioned with their conquest of Uyvar and Nemçe castles.

Kendi tursun *Lehi* pâmal eder kulları var

Kim kralı turamaz karşı degül hatmanı

Macarın aldı iki kal'asını himmet ile

Nemçe iklimine sad leşker-i gâret saldı⁴⁵

D. Epicureanism (Rintlik)

Most of poems of the poets from Bosnia are epicurean. Epicurean is a name that is given to people who don't look for wealth, have tolerance and maturity, don't wish rank or present and live daily.

Poet Ziyai has a manner which doesn't bent for worldly wealth, doesn't deign to viles, is conceited, is proud and challenging.

Vefâ umma o şehden hadd-i zatından cefâ-cûdur

Seversen sev gidersen git belalar çek cefâlar çek⁴⁶

Although the poet bore poverty, troubles and foreign land, sometimes in his poems sincerely expresses his wish to benefit from the joys and blessings of the world.

İçelim birer ikişer sâgar

Ömrümüzden biraz hesab alalım⁴⁷

Ahmet Efendi from Bosna undauntedly describes himself drinking in a pub.

Sanmanız meygedede sâgar-ı sahbâ çekeriz

Def'ine renc-i gamın şîşe-i mînâ çekeriz⁴⁸

We observe the same fearlessness of Galip from Bosna. He tells that their disposition is drinking wine and that is suitable to epicureanist point of view.

44 Abdulkadiroğlu (1999:281)

45 Mermer (1991:95)

46 Gürgendereli (2002:227)

47 Gürgendereli (2002:33)

48 Abdulkadiroğlu (1999:281)

Dil aşkına aşk oldu dil ü cânâ münâsib

Meşreb meye mey meşreb-i rindâna münâsib⁴⁹

Sükkeri was also a epicureanist poet. He enjoyed his life. He was a regular visitor carousals. But sometimes cupbearer's showing sympathy to the rival makes him unhappy. He can't even bear the gossip of this.

Derler o gonca-femle olur leb-be-leb rakîb

Ya Rab aslı var mı hemân güft-ü-gû mudur⁵⁰

Sabit, who wants to enjoy his life and free himself from the grieves and troubles of the world looks for consolation in epicureanism. He likes life in this way and talking about wine, cupbearer and pub he releases himself from pessimistic emotions towards life. Sometimes, because of his sense of humour saying that wine, joy and entertainment cause loss of money he advices to keep away from this kind of entertainments.

Şu hüsn ile bir içim su isen de sultânım

Koyulma sâgara dâm-ı şarâba düşme sakın⁵¹

Up to here, by means of examples we have chosen from classical Ottoman poets, we have tried to give information about language, way of saying, life, content features which are seen in these poet's poems and are only peculiar to the poets of Rumelia. These features have been tried to be examined in our proclamation under titles such as the reflection of informal ways of saying "a, e, be, hey, be hey, iki gözü, var ol" on poetry, the informal expressions which are close to daily spoken language, using proverbs and idioms frequently, the entrance of the culture of christianity in poetry, the spirit of Gaza and raider, mentioning about places in the Balkans and epicureanism.

49 Abdulkadiroğlu (1999:286)

50 Erol (1994:15)

51 Karacan (1991:39)

OTTOMAN POETS LIVING IN BOSNIA HERZEGOVINA DURING OTTOMAN ERA

Müberra Gürgendereli*

ABSTRACT

Bosnia Herzegovina , which was included in the boundaries of ottoman empire in 1463, has made important contributions to our ottoman literature by training Bosnia n poets who wrote Turkish poems. Among these poets are mostarlı hasan ziyâ'î, sâbit, mezâkî, sükkârî, dervîş paşa, kâimî, etc, who acquired their reputation in their period or later.

In our paper, we will determine basically the lives, works and arts of 31 poets born in Bosnia Herzegovina in the light of the information we gained from 'tezkiyeler' each of which are described as history of literature and also we will present samples of their poems.

The Bosnia ns who formed the moslem populace in Bosnia were promoted high-level positions in the state's administration , army , science and literature during the long lasted crown of ottoman empire ,and within this equal treatment and unification , a great number of person of Bosnia n origin were employed in the official place of grand vizier ; the highest level position in government after sultan. Meanwhile , Bosnia n intellectuals were of great benefit to Turkish culture and literature.¹

Bosnia is a city , where poets like to live. In this city , it is necessary to enjoy life and a good time. Mesîhî , who was a poet from rumelia , expressed this idea in this way.

Gel bugün şehr-i sarây içinde beglik sürelim

kim bilir yarın felek kimlerle 'ışret-bâz olur²

mesîhî, also in one of his concepts , mentioned the bravery of the young that grew up in this city by saying “ here is Bosnia . Whoever is born here becomes a real falcon.”

Cân u dil mürgin sayd eyledin didim didi

bosnadır bunda kim anadan toğan şebbâz olur³

* Asst. Prof. Dr., Trakya University

1 Mustafa Isen, Ötelerden Bir Ses,(1997), Akçağ Yay.,Ankara,p.566

2 Mesîhî, Divan, hzl.Mine Mengi (1995), Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayını 80, Ankara, p.163

kinalizade hasan celebi once asserted that Bosnia was a city achieved a prominence as its label of “sarajevo”.⁴ one of the most significant characteristics of Bosnia n poets was that they were mentioned as “bosnavi” instead of “bosnali”.⁵ according to the biographical memoirs, there were 31 classical ottoman divan poets raised in Bosnia. In this announcement their lives, works, and arts will be explained within their basic natures in the light of the information we obtained from the memoirs qualified as history of literature, and examples of their poems will be presented.

1. asâfî (d. 1031/1621): his real name was Bosnia n hizir cavus. In his biographical memoir, mucip mentioned him as a poet who was witty, unceremonious by nature, master at riddle and competent in persian language. He was killed by strangling in kufe.⁶ the following couplet is an example of his poetry.

tâvân-ı çarha her biri yaldızlı mîhdir
fark-ı semâda görünen encüm değil dilâ

2. Asım (d. 1122/1710): his real name was yusuf. He died while he was working as a head clerk in court. He wrote a regularly arranged divan(collected poems)⁷. The following couplets are the examples of his sincere and witty style of poetry special to rumelia poets:

açıldı gonca-i rengîni andelîb-i dilin
çemensitânda ol gül-‘izârı söyledim

kesilmedi ser-i zülfün hikâyeti gerçi
bütün gece dil-i âşûfte-kârı söyledim

3. Atfî : his real name was bosnali ahmet efendi. In the following couplet in which he celebrated his poem, he says that he strung bright pearls on the string of verse with his pen strewing jewels.

3 Mengi(1995:163)

4 Kınalızade Hasan Çelebi, Tezkiretü’ş-şuarâ, hzl.İbrahim Kutluk (1989) Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, p.502.

5 Filiz Kılıç,XVII.Yüzyıl Tezkirelerinde Şair ve Eser Üzerine Değerlendirmeler(1998) Akçağ Yay., Ankara, p.43

6 Mucib, Tezkire,hzl.Kudret Altun(1997)Atatürk Kültür Mekezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, p.22.

7 İsmail Belig, Nuhbetü’l-âsâr li-zeyli Zübdetü’l-eş’âr, hzl.Abdulkerim Abdulkadiroğlu(1999) Atatürk Kültür Mekezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, p.255.

atfiyâ kilik-i güher-pâşımız aldıkça ele

Rişte-i nazmımıza lü'lü'-i lâlâ çekeriz⁸

4. Bezmî (d. 1094/1683) : bezmî , knowns as bosnali yasakçizade ibrahim , was martyred during the campaign of peç. Thereupon , hizmetzade şeyh abdi illustrated his death by the statement :

“aldı ayakdan mey-i câm-ı şahâdet bezmîyi”⁹

5. Derviş paşa: born in mostar, derviş paşa was brought up at the ottoman palace during the crown of iii. Murad and fascinated the sultan with his talent at poetry. According to hasan çelebi, the work of derviş which was a translation of the book of eloquence named “ sehaname” by binayi with the order of the sultan was much more favourable and satisfying than binayi’s original book in his poem “hasb-i hâl-i derviş he likens his being under the command of the sultan to closeness of the particle to sun.

Oldu derviş pâdişâha yakîn

zerre san âfitâba oldu karîn

In addition, the following couplet stands for the expression of his profession as head-falconer at the palace.

Bâz-ı devlet elimde kıldı karâr

oldu kârım toğancılık her bâr

afterwards , the poet quitted the palace as çakırcıbaşı , he became the governor general of the province Bosnia . And eventually martyred during the campaign of peşte.¹⁰

8 Abdulkadiroğlu(1999:281), Mehmet Nail Tuman,Tuhfe-i Nâilî, hzl.Cemal Kurnaz, Mustafa Tatçı(2001)Bizim Büro Yayınları, Ankara, p.677.

9 Abdulkadiroğlu(1999:29)

10 Kurnaz, Tatçı(2001: 277), Kutluk (1989:372)

6.fâhir : salih efendi was his real name. He inclined to moslem theosophy and affiliated himself to the sect of mevlevi. (whirling dervishes) when he was one of the clerks at the imperial chancery of the state. In 1120(1708) he died when he was a reciprocator at inebolu fortress in mora. His grave is located in inebolu.¹¹ in the following couplet , he points out the beauty of his poems:

dehân-ı nâziki ile miyânı vâfinda
misâl-i fâhir-i tâze-zebân nâzıkdir

7. Fâyizî : fâyizî whose real name was abdullah was the son of sâmiî abdülkerim efendi. He worked as a theology professor at malkoç efendi medresah (school of theology). He died from plague while he was returning sarajevo in 1100(1688). The following couplet is an example of his poems:

Vücûdum tâb-ı hicriyle ser-â-ser dâğ dâğ oldu
miyân-ı bezm-i mihnetde söyünmez bir çerâğ oldu¹²

8. Feridun : his name was şîr ali çelevî. He was the clerk of evkaf (religious foundation in ottoman period) , and he died in 1069.¹³

9. Fevzî: he was born in Bosnia . His real name was mehmed. He studied in istanbul and worked as a clerk at the chancery of state.

Nice ta'bîr-i lutf-ı zahm-ı peykânın edem cânâ
ki oldur dîdede her dem dür-efşân olmağa bâis¹⁴

10.gâlib : only in beliğ memorial it was reported that he was Bosnia n. The following couplet belongs to him:

¹¹ Abdulkadiroğlu(1999:291)

¹² Abdulkadiroğlu(1999:293)

¹³ Kurnaz, Tatçı(2001: 869); Mehmed Süreyya, Sicill-i Osmânî, hz1.S.Ali Kahraman(1996), İstanbul, V.II,p.521.

¹⁴ Abdulkadiroğlu(1999:327)

Hûb oldu o sîm bedenî zer kemerinde

hançer bele bel hançer-i bürrâna münâsib¹⁵

11. Habîbî: habîbî , known as bosnali habîb dede , was a follower of mevlana. He died in the year of 1053 (1643). In his poems , he concentrated on theosophical themes ,and centred upon creating philosophical poems.

Bînâ-yı cîsr-i gerdûn dest-i hikmetle örölmüşdür

sipîhrin haymesi cûy-ı fenâ üzre kurulmuştur¹⁶

12. Hurremî : born in Bosnia , hürremî earned a reputation as defterzade¹⁷. In the couplet of him written in a plain language below , he expressed the greatness of his love.

akdı gönlüm su gibi bir dilberin dîvârına

tûr-ı mûsâdan beter yandı tecelli nârına

13. Hükmî : he was born in Herzegovina. He became the clerk of state council under the command of grand vizier çağalazade sinan pasha. He was a x.century poet. He usually expressed his apathy about the material world and wealth.

sûret-i zâhir ile gerçi ki ‘âlîşânız

hâk-ı râh-ı fukarâ bende-i dervîşânız¹⁸

14.kâimî: it is estimated that he was born in Bosnia between the years of 1625-1635. Hasan was his real name.¹⁹ in the light of some heroic anecdotes , he

¹⁵ Abdulkadiroğlu(1999:286)

¹⁶ Abdulkadiroğlu(1999:67)

¹⁷ Kutluk(1989:303)

¹⁸ Kurnaz, Tatçı(2001:214)

deserved his surname by standing on foot in seclusion for 40 days long. He is known as “kâimi baba”. In manisa edition of his divan(collected poems) his name was reported as “hasan abdal”. Besides his divan of onomancy , he also wrote another collection of his works called varidat. The second divan mostly consists of eulogies. In the examples below , the poet revealed both his and his work’s and his name.

bahrdan katre yol buldu bu sûretle dile geldi

anunçün vâridât oldu yazısı tuhfe eş’ârı

....

vâridât-ı hak olan söz ehline teklîm olur

...

vâridât-ı hakda budur kim görülmüş söyleriz

...

muhkemdir hasan abdal efendi hoşdur n’iden

anunçün pür kusûr ile sözünü söyledi bunda²⁰

15. Kâtibî (d.1078/1176) : he was known as mevlevî dervish mustafa dede. His grave is in yenişehir, fenar. ²¹

Mestâne olup aşk ile ben cûş edebilsem

ol hâlet ile ‘aklı ferâmûş edebilsem

16.ledünnî (d.1133/1720)bosnali mustafa efendi. The poet, the most talented of all his peers at science , insight and especially at persian language , spent most of his time travelling and in iran(persia). During his time in istanbul , he worked as a clerk of state council and master poet of voivoda (formerly, a kind of major in ottoman empire) of eflak (formerly, wallachia). He managed to add his

19 Kurnaz, Tatçı(2001:816)

20 Kenan Erdoğan “Bosnalı Hasan Kâimî ve Divanının Manisa Nüshası”, Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi 31, (2004), p.257.

21 Kurnaz, Tatçı(2001:836)

name to the list of the most famous poets of his age by means of his Turkish and persian poems.²²

17. Meylî : (d. 1086/1675) abdûlbaki efendi. He worked as a religious professor and cadi (a kind of judge in ottoman period).²³

18. Mezâkî: suleiman was the real name of mezâkî , who lived in the middle of xvii. Century. In the sources ,his name is mentioned as dervish suleiman, mezâkî suleiman dede bosnevi and suleiman dede. Güftî ,in his biographical memoir pointed out that he was from çayniçe.

hıttâ-i bosna'da o rind-i kühen

tuttu çayniçe sâhilinde vatan²⁴

after he had finished his primary education in çayniçe, mezâkî went to istanbul and attended enderun (formerly, in the palaces of sultans). He worked as a clerk under many pasha thanks to his close relations with statesman. The clerks in the charge of correspondence agreed that he was very good at poetry and architecture. As to safai , he is incomparable to any other poet because of his sensualist , highly cultivated characteristic and scientific , cultural knowledge and maturity he reached. He delighted the pleasure that life serve, and usually gave them place in his poems using hi simple-hearted discourse.

gonca-leblerle mezâkî hele işret edelim

vakti vardır yetişir ol gül-i ra'nâ de gelir²⁵

19. Mirî : Bosnia is the place of his birth. His real name was mehmed. He was one of the sphahee (the ancient ottoman cavalry) poets.²⁶

22 Kurnaz, Tatçı(2001:880); Ramiz, Adâb-ı Zurfâ ,hızl.Sadık Erdem(1994), Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayını 79, Ankara, p.261

23 Kahraman(1996:1091)

24 Kaşif Yılmaz, Güftî ve Teşrifâtü's-ş-şuarâ'sı(2001), Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayını,S.255, Ankara, p.217.

25 Ahmet Mermer(1991),Mezâkî Hayatı, Edebi Kişiliği ve Divanının Tenkidli Metni, Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayını 87, Ankara, p.19-26.

20.nazmî (d. 1125/1713) : he is known as hasan dede . After being a sheikh (formerly, a religious leader or teacher) in the convent of mevlevi dervishes in egypt, he went to istanbul.

nazmiyâ çek ayağın meygededen dillendin
der-i meyhâneye lutf eyle hemân girmeyigör²⁷

21. Nergisî (d. 1044/1634): nergisî ,known as nergis-zâde munşî mehmed efendi, was one of the rumelia cadis. He was born in Bosnia , became a lieutenant from kafzade fâizî and acted as a historian in the sultan iv. Murad's expedition to revan. He fell down from the horse and died in the expedition in gegbüze.

“ah bin kırk dördte göçdü nergisî”²⁸

the poet expressed his plans for meeting his lover and his gladness in the moment of meeting in his following couplet;

aguşa ebr-veş çekebilsem o mâhımı
tâ evc-i âsumâna atardım külâhımı

22. Nutkî (d. 1140/1727): he was bosnalı mevlevi alî nutkî dervish.²⁹

23.rüşdî (d. 1111/1699) : he was born in mostar. His name was ahmed. He went to egypt with ahmed pasha , the minister of finance , and died there in 1111. The date written for his death by arif efendi is :

“meded kim bin yüz on birde cihândan geçdi rüşdi âh”

26 Kurnaz, Tatçı(2001:993), Kahraman(1996:1093)

27 Kurnaz, Tatçı(2001:1070), Kahraman(1996:1241)

28 Abdulkadiroğlu(1999:454)

29 Abdulkadiroğlu(1999:468), Kahraman(1996:1279)

he considered the works of tezkireci beliğ excellent.³⁰ in the following couplet , the poet used a poetic device by using the idiom “ to box one’s ear”.

benzetti diyü kendüsin ebrûsına yârın
hurşid-i felek mâh-ı nevin çekti kulağın

24. Sâbit (d. 1124/1712): sâbit, whose real name was alaaddin, was born in uziçe, Bosnia . Sâbit , who had been a teacher and cadi , acted as a cadi in such small towns as çorlu , burgaz in rumelia for a long time and then in Bosnia . The poet , who experienced so many difficulties in acting as a cadi in Bosnia, expressed it in this way:

verdiler bosna’da mansıb diyü bir cây-ı azâb
göricek hâtıra vâdi-i cehennem geldi

the grave of sâbit , who died from dysentery in 1712 , is in maltepe.

the poet demonstrated all characteristics of divan literature in his poems , and was separated from his peers due to his ability in proverbs , idioms and utterances. He inclined towards the domestic life by avoiding imitation, and had a different nature with the new style and unusual concepts he introduced in poetry. Ziya pasha described sâbit in the preliminary statement of harabat in that way;

Sâbit dahi şâir-i metîndir
ol tarzda sâhib-i zemîndir

ekser sözü ıstılâha dair
mazmunları var değer cevâhir

30 Abdulkadiroğlu(1999:120)

the works of the poet are; divan , zafername, edhem ü hü mâ , berbername and amrû'leys.³¹

25. Sükkerî(d. 1097/1686): sükkerî's real name, who lived in the second half of the seventeenth century, was zekeriyya. Sükkerî zekeriyya efendi is introduced as zekeriyya el-bosnavî in the written sources. He is known as mezâkî's student. The poet , who had migrated from Bosnia to istanbul in 1671, died from plague ,and was buried in edirnekapı. Safayî told in his memorial that sükkerî was a good poet, and acquainted with his worth being admitted , his very satisfying calligraphy , the pleasantness of his poems and the comfort of his words. Sükkerî said that he was a joker ,witty and quick at repartee in his poems while praising them.

zürefâ sohbetine sükkerî-i zâr gibi

bezle-gû nükte-ver-i tîz-cevâb isterler

sükkerî's poems are mostly in an epicurean spirit. The subject studied most in his lyric poems is "human love". The air of death can be felt in his historical strophes ,and the air of foreign land in his quatrains.³²

26.şânî: born in sarajevo. Şânî's real name was salih. He was one of the poets who composed good lyric poems in the ulema class. He received 'şânî' pseudonym since he was known as tarakzade. He worked as a teacher , and earned reputation for his lyric poems. The poet describes his love for a christian woman in the couplet below:

küfrünü neyleyeyim hüsnüne yüz bin tahsîn

sanki bir nûr idi zulmette tecellâ kıldı³³

31 Bosnalı Alaeddin Sabit, Divan, hzl.Turgut Karacan(1991), Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi Yayınları , Sivas.p.1-13.

32 Erdoğan Erol,SükkerîHayatı, Edebi kişiliği ve Divanı(1994), Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayını 89, Ankara, s.6-10.

33 Mustafa İsen,Kühû'l-ahbârın Tezkire Kısım(1994), Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayını 93, Ankara, s.310; Kutluk(1989:502); Kurnaz, Tatçı(2001:474)

27. Şinâsî:şinâsî, known as bosnalı mehmed çelebi, was from the cengiz family. He became a cadi after he had worked as a lieutenant.

efser-i şâhî giyip olsa süvâr ol şeh-süvâr

hüsni-i darbına dayanmaz rüstem ü gîv ü pesen³⁴

28. Tâlib (d.1085/1674): he was bosnalı ahmed efendi. When he was young, he came to istanbul, and started to work with köprülüzade fazıl ahmed pasha. In fact , he was known as süleymaniyeli ahmed efendi. Tâlib , who had been once the minister of foreign affairs, was one of the well-known poets of his era.

sabâ o zülf-i girih-gîri pîç ü tâba düşürdün

fütâde dilleri bî-hûde ıztırâba düşürdün³⁵

29. Zikrî (d.1100/ 1688): he was uziçeli ebubekir ağa from the cavalry. He had a fief. He had been trained by vuslati ali bey .³⁶ he expressed the grief of longing, homesickness and separation in the following couplets:

benim nûş ettiğim zâhid mey-i gül-gûn imiş sanma

bu bir hûn-âbe-i hasretle memlû câm-ı firkatdir

Bu gülşende seni bülbül gibi zâr eyleyen zikrî

diyâr-ı gurbet ü derd ü gam u âlâm u mihnetdir³⁷

30. Ziyâ'î (d.992/1584): ziyâ'î, known as hasan çelebi ibn-i ali el-mostari, was one of the most prolific Bosnia n poets of divan literature. He was born in mostar in the first half of the 16th century. The poet's father's name and his grandfathers' names were confirmed from the note at the end of the single copy of his collected poems. In this note, the poet's name is declared as "ziyâ'î bin ali bin hüseyin bin mahmud bin yusuf el-herseki".

34 Altun(1997:39)

35 Abdulkadiroğlu(1999:213)

36 Kahraman(1996:1714)

37 Abdulkadiroğlu(1999:82), Kurnaz, Tatçı(2001:287)

the name of hasan ziyâ'î from mostar whose personal information is not widely held in the literature is mentioned only in zübdetül-eş'ar. In this document, the poet's death date and two sample couplets are presented. The detailed information about his life can be gathered from his poems. He spent almost his life in poverty and he focused on it in his poems. Since ziyâ'î had been exposed to slander once, he went to exile and he began to live in cottage near the sea side with his wife. He could not be happy in the exile and went back to mostar. After his return to mostar, he was patronized by the poet vusuli mehmet beğ (d.1598), who protected the poets and the scholars of his era. With the encouragement of mehmed beğ, he began to write his poems in comfort.

the historical stanza written on mostar bridge which is mentioned in evliya çelebi's seyahatname belong to hasan ziyâ'î.

Kavs-i kuzâhın 'aynı bir köprü binâ etti
Var mı bu cihân içre mânendi hey allahım
İbretle bakıp dedi tarihini bir ârif
El geçtiği köprüden biz de geçeriz şâhım

In the note placed in his work "kıssa-i şeyh abdürrezzak", it is stated that the poet died because of plague in mostar after he had completed his work. Regarding the completion year of the work which is h.991, we can assume that ziyâ'î died in h.992.

In his work divan, hasan ziyâ'î stated that his poems were more valuable than the poems of his contemporary poets. He used widely the rumelian traditions, the idioms and proverbs, concrete environmental descriptions, the place names of rumelia, and christianity and modesty cultures in his poems. These characteristics arouse from his wish for being native. As a lyrical poet, ziyâ'î was simple, fluent and sincere. Most of the rhymes of his lyrical poems which were written in gentle and natural Turkish comprise Turkish words. Instead of artificial language, he used simple and comprehensible statements. The puns and figurative language of Turkish language and rhymes are in coherent in ziyâ'î's poems. In his eulogies, he kept away from the traditional eulogy concept and exaggerated statements. His eulogies "hane-i virane" and "sengistan" are different from the traditional eulogies with respect to both content and form. These mentioned eulogies were written in more realist, symbolical, and humeral manners; especially, witty statements are dominant in his works. He used irony sometimes for himself and sometimes for his environment. Ziyâ'î also wrote an eulogy in the style of "hasb-i hal" in which the

poets declares their own personal troubles. His works are: divanı, kıssa-i şeyh abdülrezzak, varka vü gülşah.³⁸

31. Zülfeti: he was born in Bosnia and his original name was süleyman. He is the brother of mehmed pasha who was the vizier of ii. Ahmed.³⁹

³⁸ Müberra Gürgendereli, Hasan Ziyâ'î Hayatı-Eserleri-Sanatı ve Divanı, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları Ankara 2002; Kâtip Çelebi, Keşfü'z-zünûn, I, İstanbul 1941, p.798; Kafzâde Fâizî, Zübdetü'l-eş'âr, Süleymaniye Ktp., Şehit Ali Paşa-1877/1, p.60; Dzemal Cehajic, Prilozi Zs Orijentalnu Filologiju, Sarejevo 1976, p.329; Tacida Hafiz, Mostarlı Hasan Ziyâ'î Çelebi, Çevren 13, p.113; Fehim Nametak, Pregled Knjizevnog Stvaranja Bosansko-Hercegovaskin Muslimana Na Turskom Jeziku, Sarejavo 1989

³⁹ Kurnaz, Tatçı(2001:391)

ASSUMPTIONS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF SCIENCE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (1878. – 1958.)

Senija Milišić*

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper was not only a chronological insight of the development of science in BiH, thus, what is more important is “time and space” complexity (BiH on the border of two empires-till 1878. belonged to Ottoman empire and after 1878. to Austro-Hungarian monarchy), the mentality and environment, which have shown to be a deteriorating factors in progress of science in BiH. The assumptions of institutionalization of science did not only require willingness of the ruling segment of society (despite the lack of professors and teaching stuff), but also the institutions themselves, which did not exist until the second half of the 20th century. Furthermore, the first High Schools and universities appeared after 1945.

The social-political happenings between the two World Wars, during and after World War II, have strongly affected BiH and development of science in it.

By creating a quantitative analysis of progress of scientific development and comparing the periods between 1878.-1945. and 1945.-1958. we get astonishing results. In other words, in the period of only 14 years has been achieved far more than in the period of 68 years.

Almost one hundred years have elapsed from the initial idea to establish a museum in Bosnia and Herzegovina that occurred by mid-19 century until the establishment of the first high school in the country. Meanwhile, only one institution was established that was both scientific and cultural – the so-called Land's Museum in Sarajevo, in 1888. The Institute for Balkan Research was active within the Museum from 1904 to 1918. Between the two world wars, Bosnia and Herzegovina did not have any high schools or universities. Their establishment occurred after 1945. Once the country was liberated, in 1945, conditions were created in the new socialist Yugoslavia for the opening of high schools and universities. These institutions became accessible to the population at large. In Bosnia and Herzegovina primary and secondary schools were the first to be improved, followed by the foundation of high schools and universities.

Education was free of charge and conditions further improved for those who could not afford to study by granting scholarships. Thus education became one of the key components of social and economic development of the country. The reconstruction and development of the war-devastated country required a lot of

* Dr., Science Associate in the Institute of History, Sarajevo and Instructor, Dzemal Bijedic University of Mostar

professional expertise. Industrialization and the entire social development and prosperity depended on it.

After the liberation in 1945, Bosnia and Herzegovina found itself in a very difficult situation. During the se WW II the country was completely ravaged. The overall war damages were never calculated and made public. Basic preconditions to overcome centuries-old backwardness were met once the liberation struggle was won. Mobilization of the entire able-bodied population was called upon in order to start rebuilding the country. Highly professional human resources were needed for the success of the reconstruction and development of the country. The authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina made enormous sacrifice to establish as soon as the war was over the first scientific and educational institutions. Thus in 1948, there was the university comprising 3 faculties and high schools with 109 professors and assistant professors, and 1,181 students. Ten years later, there were 8 faculties and high schools, 717 professors and assistant professors, and 5636 students. However, there were some fields of science that could not been studied in Bosnia and Herzegovina, given that there were no corresponding faculties. Such is the case with archeology, ethnography, and art history.

The first scientific personnel were recruited from Bosnia and Herzegovina itself as well as from other parts of the Federation. At first, they often did not meet the academic conditions for the teaching positions they were appointed to. That has been caused by enormous needs for the staff as well as by a more flexible and accelerated procedure of election in the field of academia. This procedure was inspirational for most of the professors, as we would have seen later. In the first phase of its development, the faculty, and the University as the whole received significant assistance from the universities in Zagreb, Belgrade, and Ljubljana. Professors from these universities helped the organization and development of scientific and research institutes, faculty libraries and laboratories, collections and seminars, as well as improvement of teaching staff.

In its development science has gone through the same stages, as did the society at large. In the first phase of administrative-budgetary decision-making, the establishment of scientific institutions started in accordance with the then system of planning. The role of the state in the creation and implementation of scientific policy was decisive. The goals and tasks of scientific institutions were determined by the first 5-year plan of reconstruction and construction of the country. Main goal was to remove underdevelopment and inherited economic and cultural backwardness. The key problem with regards to the realization of the 5-year plan was caused by the foreign factor. Economic, political, and military pressure that followed the Stalin's IB Resolution led towards the re-location of military enterprises from Serbia to Bosnia and Herzegovina. In a sense, this enabled the economic rehabilitation of the country but all the newly established values ended up in Belgrade. Arrival and domination of the Serb military personnel occurred simultaneously with the movement of Serb population within Bosnia and

Herzegovina, that left the passive rural areas and moved to the industrial urban zones.

The Cold War had a significant impact on the development and structure of the economy of Bosnia and Herzegovina, its basic and military industry in particular. Since then, Bosnia and Herzegovina gained strategic importance with regards of development of military industry. Overcoming the conflict with Stalin's Informbüro led to creation of preconditions for a faster development of science and its institutions. The result of that development has become evident only by the end of 1950s and the beginning of 1960s. Once it created its own university and scientific institutions, Bosnia and Herzegovina started producing its own crucial highly professional experts.

The adoption of the Law on the High Pedagogical School in Sarajevo in 1946 marked the beginning of the process of creation of higher and university education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The development of institutions had two phases: first, until 1950, when organizational problems were mainly resolved, and second, when the institutions could fully commit themselves to the scientific and research activities. With the opening of the Law, Medical and Agricultural-Forestry faculties, conditions were met for the establishment of the University of Sarajevo whose task, as the highest scientific and educational institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was to produce the critical mass of academics who would be focused on the advancement of science. Scientific and research work was one of the primary tasks of the University that was managed by the University Council, university Management and the Rector.

To accomplish the tasks set out by the Law on Higher Education relating the teaching and research, the University, and its faculties formed their institutes, seminars, cathedras, clinics, laboratories, experimental farms and stations, libraries. The university professors had the following titles: full professor, associate professor, professor, while their associates were: assistant professors, scientific and research assistants, language experts and heads of practical exercise.

As organizational units of individual faculties, the cathedras worked on improvement of teaching practices, organization, and development of scientific research and advancement of teaching and teachers alike. The problem of human resources has never been fully solved. This process developed gradually. The Government of Peoples' Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina ensured the budget for the funding of high schools, faculties, and institutes. In the beginning, the authorities wanted to accelerate the development of scientific institutions and in order to achieve that they provided full support and responded to the requirements of the universities.

The slow drop of support after 1950 was the consequence of international situation. The Government funded the study trips abroad and the participation at international gatherings as well as the publishing activity of the scientific institutions. The growth curve indicates that the budget for the institutions of

science was in constant increase. This indicates a strong development of these institutions as well as great assistance provided by the government. Credits were granted for the purchase of equipment and particularly books, i.e., for the development of university libraries. The salaries of the members of academia were relatively high. In order to get the necessary human resources as fast as possible, the Government offered scholarships to a great number of students.

The human resources in Bosnia and Herzegovina were needed to develop industry, agriculture, and to build the roads, electrical plant, etc. In view of all the needs for professional workforce, the Government of Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia granted, in the first years, the necessary experts, and professional staff to its republics. The needs for human resources were immense, and they were solved on the basis of agreements among other federal republics and were treated as assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The professionals and experts employed by the Bosnia and Herzegovina faculties and scientific institutions obtained their academic degrees between the two world wars and in Belgrade and Zagreb. Most of them have obtained their doctorate there. The high education institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina succeeded, nevertheless, in a very short period of time to generate its own academic staff and a lot of those who acquired their academic degree were employed as assistant professors at their faculties. Specializations, study trips, and well-received participation at the world and European academic gatherings confirm the fact that the Bosnia and Herzegovina science has found its place in European and the world academic scene. Ethnic compositions of the staff employed by scientific institutions shows that the Serb nationality prevailed. In some institutions their share was 70%, and most frequently they made more than 50% of overall staff.

The staff of the Bosnia and Herzegovina scientific institutions has accomplished a comprehensive teaching and research results. Their overall contribution to the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina, its educational, cultural, and scientific transformation has been great. In the process the two most important tasks, i.e., bringing together and development of the first core of the future scientists of Bosnia and Herzegovina and their commitment to the scientific work, were fully accomplished.

The existence of the Scientific Society of People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, then the highest level of organization of scientific work, played a major role and has a key place in the overall development of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its existence was also the expression of sociopolitical individuality within FNRJ.

The turning point in the structuring and organization of scientific work and institutions came with the enactment of the Federal Law on the Organization of Scientific Work in 1957. This Law defined the institutions that could deal with science alongside their place in society and the manner of financing. This period of BH history is significant since it marked the creation, strengthening and broadening

of the network of scientific institutions. The establishment of high schools and faculties contributed to the faster development of University. In Sarajevo, Banja Luka, and Mostar autonomous scientific institutions were formed with the task of solving the crucial problems relating social and economic development. The characteristic of this development was its gradual yet constant growth of science and research. The consequence of this process was seen in the period from 1945 to 1958, when in Bosnia and Herzegovina scientific institutions and personnel was already developed. The reconstruction of emerging, development and achievements of the scientific institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the said period would enable us to see the extent in which those institutions and science in general contributed to the economic, cultural and social development of the country. These institutions were founded because there was the need for them. They were founded by force of a law that determined their basic tasks and program and plan of scientific activities.

The establishment of the University of Sarajevo in 1949, this institution became the focal point of research and development activities. It is thanks to the existence the University of Sarajevo that Bosnia and Herzegovina got highly educated human resource in almost all branches of science. Although the University in that period had staffing and organization difficulties, due to which some phases of its development differed in their features, the very existence of this institution, as the highest form of organization of scientific work, were extremely important for the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The entire activity of the University was targeting the solving of the problems that were critical for the country's development. Until 1959, the faculties were founded only in Sarajevo, and the university's development was gradual.

The main goal of the overall process of overcoming the legacy of underdevelopment was thus achieved. The results achieved in the period from 1945 to 1958 in the domain of scientific activities, compared with the pre-war situation, were significant – both in the number of scientific institutions and in terms of the type of scientific activity involved. The establishment of the Scientific Society of People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as the highest complex institution of science only added to the already high priority granted to scientific work in the country

REFERENCES

- Besarović, R.(1987)Kulturni razvitak Bosne i Hercegovine 1878-1918., Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine ,11,Sarajevo,367-402.
- Hunski, V.(1982)Naučno-izdavačka djelatnost u Bosni i Hercegovini u okviru Statističkog departmana Zemaljske vlade, Meteorološke stanice i Geološkog zavoda (1871-19189, Prilozi Institut za istoriju,19,Sarajevo, 297-299.
- Numić,H.(1997) Znanost u Sarajevu-u povodu pet vijekova njegovog postojanja,Prilozi historiji Sarajeva, Sarajevo, 523-531.
- Kapidžić,H.(1973)Naučne ustanove u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme austrougarske uprave,Sarajevo,28.
- Bakaršić,K.(1997).Zbirka orijentalnih rukopisa Bosanskohercegovačkog instituta za proučavanje Balkana,Prilozi historiji Sarajeva, Sarajevo,217-224.
- Kapidžić,H.(1961)Austro-ugarski političari i pitanje osnivanja Univerziteta u Sarajevu 1913. godine, Glasnik arhiva i Društva arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine,1, Sarajevo,293-295.
- Enciklopedija Jugoslavije,SeparatSR Bosna i Hercegovina, Zagreb,128.